Author:
McNess Fishman, Elizabeth Mary

Title:
A socio cultural investigation into the impact of cultural context and national policy on teachers' work and professional values in England and Denmark

A Socio-cultural Investigation into the Impact of Cultural Context and National Policy on Teachers' Work and Professional Values in England and Denmark

ELIZABETH MARY McNESS FISHMAN

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Science, Graduate School of Education, August 2002

Word Count: 78,274

ABSTRACT:

We live in an increasingly global society where national boundaries are coming under growing pressure from worldwide shifts in policy and practice. The opposing forces of 'globalization' set against increasing demands for local autonomy have combined with a prevailing economic rationality to seek increasing accountability in those areas of public service, such as education and health, which draw heavily on the national purse. This has had important implications for the structure and management of national education systems and, as a consequence, the work of teachers.

Much government policy-making has begun to focus on a recasting and restructuring of the role of the classroom teacher in order to raise pupil attainment and add to national skill levels. In order to achieve this, countries look to each other to compare outcomes and understand the reasons for any differences - or perceived weaknesses - in their own national systems. Such policy borrowing, if not fully contextualised, may have unintended consequences which have the potential to profoundly affect the lives of teachers who not only bear the brunt of such change but are also instrumental in its ultimate success or failure.

This study looks at the 'forces and factors' which impinge on the working lives of two very different models of class teacher: the primary class teacher in England and the *klasselærer* in Denmark. It uses a comparative case study approach, set in a socio-cultural framework, to investigate, at both a macro and micro level, current changes in the working lives of teachers of ten year-olds and the effect which various national policy initiatives have had on educational goals and priorities. It discusses the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'professional identity' in relation to both a performance-based as well as a competence-based model of the teacher and assesses the balance of power between national schooling structures and teacher agency, with particular reference to issues of teacher 'effectiveness' and teaching 'quality'.

Finally, it draws some conclusions concerning the implications of current policy-making in England aimed at promoting and supporting a well-educated, highly-skilled, well-motivated workforce for the 21st Century. It seeks to understand issues concerned with teacher recruitment, retention, morale and job satisfaction in the light of the study's empirical findings.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A PhD study is not done in isolation. It requires regular, generous and sympathetic support from others at crucial points along the way. I have been very fortunate in the abundance of such intellectual, emotional and practical help from family, friends and colleagues, to whom I am greatly indebted and without whom this study would not have been possible.

I am particularly grateful to my friends, colleagues and key informants in both England and Denmark who have enabled me to collect the necessary data, and taught me much along the way. My thanks and admiration also go to the five, dedicated and committed, case study teachers who gave so generously of their time and expertise over the past five years.

Inspiration and support have also come from my adviser, Professor Marilyn Osborn, whom I value as a colleague and a friend, and whose clarity of intellectual thought and expert guidance enabled me to work through my frequent crises of confidence.

Finally, I must thank Adrian, Mike, James and Andrew who believed I could do it, have lived with the mess and frustration for the last five years, and who have kept me going even when I wanted to give up!

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The thesis has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:  **DATE:** 14/1/03

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I SETTING THE SCENE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

PART II A PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTARY, SURVEY AND CASE STUDY DATA

PART III CONCLUSIONS AND WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDICES

PART I

SETTING THE SCENE:
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

'There are two human inventions which may be considered more difficult than any other – the art of government, and the art of education, and people still contend as to their very meaning'
[Kant, 1900:12]

1. CHAPTER ONE – THE CONTEXT, AIMS AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

There is currently a great deal of debate concerning the role, aims and structure of compulsory schooling in Western societies at the beginning of the 21st century. For national governments, the twin pressures of economic expediency and a concern with a crisis of legitimation have combined with changing social circumstances and advances in new technologies to call into question traditional ways of organizing compulsory schooling and controlling the work of teachers.

National policy-making has begun to focus on a recasting and restructuring of the role of the classroom teacher [Smyth *et al.* 2000], who is seen as the key change agent in the process of 'delivering' the ultimate educational goals of higher standards and improved pupil attainment. These are seen by many Western governments as the necessary conditions for enhanced economic growth and greater social cohesion [Green *et al.* 1999]. In addition, the opposing forces of 'globalization' set against increasing demands for local autonomy have combined with a prevailing economic rationality to seek 'quality', 'effectiveness' and 'accountability' in those areas of public service, such as education and health, which draw heavily on the national purse [OECD 1990]. This has had important implications for the structure and management of national education systems and, as a consequence, the work of teachers.

However, as Kant reminds us, both the work of government and the organization of education are difficult human 'arts' in which to succeed:

> There are two human inventions which may be considered more difficult than any other – the art of government, and the art of education, and people still contend as to their very meaning.
>
> [Kant, 1900:12]

One solution has been for national governments to seek solutions to their perceived weaknesses by comparing achievement with those of other, similar systems. Such policy borrowing, if not fully contextualised, may have unintended consequences which have the potential to profoundly affect the lives of teachers who not only bear the brunt of such change but are also instrumental in its ultimate success or failure [Alexander 1996, Le Métais 2000].

To understand more fully the 'forgotten struggles' [Sadler 1900] and 'forces and factors' [Hans 1949, 1959] which continue to influence the work of teachers in two European national contexts, this study employs a comparative, case study methodology to examine the work of five representative teachers of ten-year-olds: two in England and three in Denmark. It uses a socio-cultural framework to analyse the historical, ideological and cultural origins of their current role expectations, professional values and practice and seeks to separate those universals or 'classroom constants' from contextually specific variations which might influence policy implementation. It examines the impact of national policy on their classroom practice and challenges some assumptions about 'quality' and 'effectiveness' in relation to teachers' work and educational outcomes.

The remainder of this introductory chapter serves to establish, in more detail, some of the current concerns with regard to the work of teachers, paying particular attention to the situation in England. It explains why the study is especially relevant at this time and describes the specific research aims and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 The Pursuit of 'Quality' in Teaching

In 1990, the Secretariat of the Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development [OECD] published a report entitled, *The Teacher Today*. It maintained that, 'In the

large majority of OECD countries[1], the condition of teaching is now a matter of intense public concern' [p.7], and the report's findings identified four major factors which appeared to contribute to this [the emphasis is theirs]:

> There is a sense of profound dissatisfaction within the teaching body in many countries and the experience during the 1980s of a sharp deterioration in industrial relations between teachers and their employing authorities in some. Teachers feel acutely the pressing demand of accountability and the subjection of public services, including education, to the intense glare of outside scrutiny, and this is in turn related to the sheer scale of the resources needed to maintain the teaching force in OECD countries. The emergence of the pursuit of quality as a general priority of educational policy has been a hall mark of recent years and with that has come the growing perception of the key role of teachers, both positive and negative, in realising that broad ambition. Finally, there are growing expressions of concern in a number of countries that, following an era of managing a decline of student enrolments and a general surplus of teaching resources, problems of adequate teacher supply are re-emerging, especially in key subjects of the curriculum.
>
> [OECD 1990:7]

These concerns with teacher dissatisfaction were attributed to the growing demand by national governments for the 'accountability' of teachers. This had resulted from the generally perceived need to control the work of teachers in order to increase the 'quality' of the educational process. However, a subsequent perceived loss in professional autonomy, coupled with an increased workload had combined with demographic change to create teacher dissatisfaction and produce problems with teacher supply. Issues which continue to exercise policy-makers [see OECD 2001].

These concerns have a particular resonance within the teaching force in England[2]. In 1998, the Department for Education and Employment set out its plan to modernise and revitalise the profession in order to prepare it for work in the 21st Century. The front cover of its Green Paper entitled *Teachers – Meeting the Challenge of Change* contained a clear statement of governmental aims for the teaching force:

---

[1] The OECD includes the countries of England and Denmark

[2] The United Kingdom [UK] is made up of four separate elements: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. These each have varying degrees of national autonomy, and education policy is not common across the UK but determined, to some extent, at the level of independent national assembly. For the purposes of this thesis, the focus will be on England despite a degree of commonality between the individual nations.

> We all need good teachers, whose skills and dedication are recognised and respected. That means a first class profession, well led and well supported. It means backing high standards with high rewards, which recognise the talents of those who teach our children.
>
> [DfEE 1998]

The government was to demand 'high standards' from a 'first class profession' in return for 'high rewards' and this was seen as part of a broader 'something for something' approach to the modernisation of the whole of the public service sector. The Green Paper went on to explain the government's commitment to supporting a highly motivated, confident, well-qualified and well-paid workforce, which would be enabled to reach the targets, with regard to pupil outcomes, which were being set for it. It claimed that a new career structure, aided by the introduction of an industrial model of 'performance management' and increased salary levels, for experienced and able classroom teachers, would revitalise the profession and increase standards. Status and working conditions would also be improved, enabling schools to be both more efficiently and more 'effectively' run.

However, four years later, in the Spring of 2001 during the annual round of teacher union conferences a frustrated workforce called on the government to recognise their stress, tiredness and de-motivation [Barnard & Dean 2001]. Long term sick leave, early retirement through illness, problems with recruitment and retention, and a concern with the lack of applications for teaching courses had prompted union leaders to call for a government investigation into the working conditions and morale of teachers. Indeed, these claims were also supported by a report from the government appointed School Teachers' Review Body, which was a telling indictment of the conditions under which teachers in England were working. It highlighted the high degree of work intensification, largely a result of government initiatives, recognised the changing social context and raised concerns over morale and teacher recruitment:

> There continues to be considerable concern about workload despite the rise in staffing levels. Increased workloads are reported to us wherever we go to schools, confirming the evidence submitted to us by consultees ..... the sheer number of initiatives has inevitably led to heavy demands on teachers and on heads in particular, especially in the introductory phases. Paperwork and meetings have increased to levels which clearly affect morale. In many areas the demands of liaison with social and other services are considerable. Children are more challenging and parents are more demanding. Awareness of these pressures has almost certainly had an adverse effect on recruitment to the profession.
>
> [School Teachers' Review Body, Ninth Report 2000:8]

Thus, despite an apparent increase in the devolution of decision-making powers to schools, an enhanced salary structure offered to classroom teachers through a new performance-related pay structure, measurable increases in pupil attainment, increased funding, and an emphasis on continuing professional development, evidence remained of an increasing workload [PricewaterhouseCoopers 2001] and significant levels of dissatisfaction among primary teachers in England [Osborn *et al.* 2000] .

This raises questions about the structure of schooling systems, the nature of teachers' work and the impact of policy change, not only in terms of teacher morale and motivation, but also in relation to who controls their work – to whom they should be 'accountable' - and who defines such attributes as 'quality' and 'effectiveness' in relation to teaching and learning in the classroom. Comparative studies into aspects of schooling and teachers' work in different countries suggest that the answers to such questions are not universal but are culturally determined, both in terms of national educational aims and teacher values [Archer 1984, Broadfoot *et al.* 1993, Webb & Vulliamy *et al.* 1997]

1.3 Research Aims and Research Questions

This study, therefore, seeks to understand the influence of culture and policy on the interaction between educational structures and individual teacher values within two

national contexts: England and Denmark. It attempts to explore the cultural influences which have determined the structure and practice of the two schooling systems, the interaction of such influences on the formation of current national policy, and the impact which such policy change has had on the values and professional practice of five individual teachers.

Denmark was chosen to provide a comparison with the situation in England for two main reasons. Firstly, as in England, there were concerns in Denmark with relatively poor pupil attainment in international studies [Winther-Jensen, 2000]. In both countries, this had prompted changes in legislation: the 1988 *Education Reform Act* in England and the 1992 *Act of the Folkeskole* in Denmark. These Acts have not only required significant change to classroom practice but also contained within them tensions with regard to existing teacher values. The scope of these changes will be examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

A second, methodological reason for choosing to compare teachers in England with those in Denmark arose from certain similarities between the two systems. Before the changes of the 1988 *Education Reform Act,* teachers in England, like their Danish colleagues, had had a history of working within a decentralised system with a set of role expectations which included the personal, social and emotional development of their pupils, as well as their academic and cognitive development. The type of comparative case study adopted in this thesis, therefore, is relatively unusual in that it attempts to tease out the influence of culture on two educational systems with relatively similar priorities and aims, rather than the more striking differences found, for instance, in a comparison of centrally-controlled systems with those which are more decentralised in nature [Archer 1984, Broadfoot *et al.* 1993, Sharpe 1992, Elliott

et al. 1999]. From a policy point of view, it is also unusual in that it seeks to connect the macro influence of policy discourse with the impact such discourse has on individual teacher practice. While other studies have attempted such a connection at a conceptual level [Webb & Vulliamy *et al.* 1997, Menter *et al.* 1997, Woods *et al.* 1997, Osborn 2001], this study seeks to link the macro concerns of national policy, as expressed through both documentary evidence and interviews with key informants, with individual teacher experience at an empirical level. This has required an on-going relationship, over a five-year period, with both key informants, at national, regional and local level, as well as the observation and work-shadowing of five case study teachers. The two main aims of the study can, therefore, be expressed in the following way:

> Aim 1 - To analyse the ideological, political and professional contexts which have shaped the current models of the primary class teacher in England and the lower primary *klasselærer* in Denmark, and
>
> Aim 2 - To illuminate the work of five case study teachers in order to understand the impact of national policy and schooling structure on their working practices and professional values.

These aims can be expressed in the following specific research questions:

> Question 1 – To what extent are the working conditions and professional practices of teachers of ten-year-olds universally constant, and to what extent are they influenced by the national, historical, cultural and political contexts in which they are situated?
>
> Question 2 - What impact is current national policy-making having on the preferred pedagogies and professional values of the case study teachers?

A subsidiary, though important, aim of the study was to develop a comparative, case study methodology which had some relevance beyond the boundaries of the individual and the particular, and could make some claim to a generalisability which would enable the findings to be a useful aid to policy-making. Thus, the qualitative nature of the study is intended to provide a counter-balance to the more usual large-

scale, international surveys carried out by such bodies as the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development [OECD] and the International Studies of Education Achievement [IEA], which have been so influential in shaping policy.

1.4 Outline of the Chapters

The remainder of the thesis is divided into ten further chapters. An indication of the content of each chapter is given below:

Chapter Two outlines the socio-cultural framework [Vygotsky 1978, Wertsch 1991, Bruner 1996] which has been employed to analyse the study's empirical evidence and discusses the separate but overlapping fields of economic, political and professional 'culture' which have been used to explore the structures of the two national schooling systems, and the professional values of the five case study teachers who worked within them. Particular attention is given to the concept of 'globalization' and its relationship to the nation state, as well as the influence of differing epistemological ideologies and approaches to the study of policy.

Chapter Three reviews the literature on teachers' work and discusses the concept of 'professionalism' in relation to Weberian bureaucracy, Labour Process theory, and emerging theories of a 'new' professionalism which pay greater attention to the concept of teachers' personal and 'professional identities'. The final part of the chapter discusses selected findings from the Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience (PACE) [Pollard *et al.*1994, Osborn *et al.* 2000] project in relation to the changing conditions of primary teachers' work in England and highlights their significance in relation to this study.

Having described the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study, Chapter

Four sets out the methodological approach that has been used to unravel these arguments at the global, national, local and personal level. A multi-layered, comparative case study approach has been used, which has been informed and extended through the use of documentary evidence and a preliminary questionnaire survey. This design uses a collaborative approach to data collection which has been supported by on-going, reflective interviews with key informants who have helped to filter information from the global and national level to the local and individual. This has enabled more general policy concerns to be linked directly to the voices of the case study teachers, giving the findings a generalisability beyond the personal.

Before a detailed analysis of the particular, Chapter Five first examines and analyses the cultural, historical and political roots of the education systems within which the case study teachers worked. It investigates the ideological origins of the two national systems of compulsory schooling in England and Denmark and relates them to the present day circumstances. By combining an analysis of documentary evidence, at both the national and local level, with a series of interviews with key informants the chapter discusses more fully the cultural and historical influences which have shaped the current models of the class teacher in both countries. It traces the development of recent national policy preoccupations within the two countries and considers the extent to which these have been influenced by issues of globalization. Particular attention is given to evidence which suggests that teacher role expectations are being reconceptualised in the wake of calls for 'effectiveness' and 'quality'. It also considers how these current policy demands articulate with older, more nationally differentiated conceptions of the work of teachers. Finally, the chapter outlines the current structure of the two national primary schooling systems, briefly explaining the initial training

for teachers and the contractual conditions under which they work.

Chapter Six discusses findings from a preliminary questionnaire survey which was used to replicate, in the Danish context, evidence from the Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience [PACE] project. It was findings from this major longitudinal study into the effect of policy change on the work of primary teachers in England during the 1980s which formed the basis of the preliminary questionnaire, which focused on issues of accountability and sought insights into teachers' professional values and levels of job satisfaction. This provided background data from a larger sample of teachers in Denmark [48] which was later used to inform and supplement both the interviews with key informants, and the data collected as part of the subsequent case studies.

Chapter Seven discusses the school contexts, two in England and two in Denmark, in which the subjects of the case studies taught. The schools were chosen to illustrate two contrasting economic and social circumstances which were evident in both national settings: the urban disadvantaged, and the suburban 'middle class'. The analysis draws on school level documentation, photographs, observation notes, interviews with the headteachers and, in the case of the English schools, Office for Standards in Education [OFSTED] reports to draw some conclusions about the working conditions, physical environment, pupil intake, ethos, and stated aims of the schools. In this way, the chapter discusses the interpretation of national and local policy as it was mediated at the individual school level, within two contrasting socio-economic environments.

Chapters Eight and Nine describe and analyse the major themes which emerged from data collected during one week of work-shadowing in each of the four case study

schools. The objective was to gain access to the daily working lives of five primary teachers, two in England and three in Denmark, all of whom had responsibility for classes of pupils, the majority of whom were ten years of age at the time of the study. The data included photographs, observation, semi-structured interviews with the case study teachers and the collection and analysis of class level documentation, such as timetables, worksheets, and newsletters. These chapters also describe and analyse the reflective diaries which were kept by the teachers and in which they recorded all school-related work, including that which was done off the school premises, in the evenings and at weekends.

Chapter Ten revisits the original research questions and discusses the findings of the study in relation to the two national contexts. It discusses issues of globalization, national identity and the two distinctive models of the primary class teacher which have emerged from the study, in terms of 'performance' and 'competence' [Bernstein 1996]. It reflects on theories of teacher 'professionalism' and 'professional identity' and relates these to the cultural and historical origins of the two schooling systems, as well as current practice. Finally, it draws some conclusions concerning the current thrust of educational reform in England and the impact of policy on the 'effectiveness' of the schooling process, and the 'quality' of teaching and learning in the classroom.

Chapter Eleven makes an assessment of the strengths and limitations of the study and revisits the methodological issues surrounding comparative research and generalisability in the context of small-scale case study research. Finally, areas of further research are suggested and recommendations are made with regard to future policy and practice.

1.6 Summary

In summary then, this thesis uses a comparative case study approach to investigate primary teachers' work in England and Denmark at the end of the 20th century. It uses a socio-cultural perspective to investigate, at both a macro and micro level, current changes in the working lives of primary class teachers, in England and Denmark, and the effect which various national policy initiatives have had on educational goals and priorities. It discusses the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'professional identity' in order to draw some conclusions concerning the balance of power between schooling structures and teacher agency, with particular reference to issues of 'quality' and teacher 'effectiveness'.

In relation to the specific circumstances of the primary teacher in England, the study seeks to understand both the overt and covert pressures of their work in order to analyse the extent to which the inherent tensions within the role [Nias 1989] have been exacerbated or ameliorated as a result of national policy initiatives. It also seeks to discover what future implications there may be for the development of the teaching profession and the quality of teaching and learning within compulsory schooling.

The study also aims to contribute to the debate on the development of comparative research [Crossley 1999, Broadfoot 2000] and the use of case study to illuminate and explicate more general issues of concern [Bassey 1999].

The following chapter discusses the 'socio-cultural' nature of the study and contains a more extended explanation of the economic and political background which has framed the work.

2. CHAPTER TWO – THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter adopts a necessarily wide-ranging and eclectic approach, to describe those areas of theoretical and conceptual thought which have been influential in informing the context of this study. It seeks to define the socio-cultural nature of the project and unpack the various elements of economic and political theory which have been used to problematise and unravel issues surrounding globalization, national culture and the role of education at the end of the 20th Century. A third area of influence has been that of 'professional' culture which will be considered in Chapter Three.

The chapter begins with a short discussion on the role of theory in educational research at a time when the existence of universal 'truths' in relation to social science are being called into question [Thomas, 1997]. This helps to explain my general approach to the use of theory and the application of a 'grounded' approach to the creation of knowledge.

2.2 The Relationship of Grand Theory to Empirical Data

In selecting a theoretical framework for educational enquiry the researcher needs to be cautious. Thomas [1997], in discussing the relationship between theory and empirical research, calls for such enquiry to be freed from an approach which relies on the acceptance, extrapolation and application of an existing body of theory, which in itself could be a misguided distortion. He draws on the work of such disparate thinkers as Nietzsche, Heidegger, Dewey and Foucault to underline the 'situatedness of thought and the fragmentary nature of knowledge' [p.87], unable to conform to tidy

representations of pre-digested knowledge. C. Wright Mills has referred to macro frameworks or grand narratives as 'Grand Theory', and blamed them for creating a 'trans-historical strait-jacket', which can restrict the development of the sociological imagination. He urged researchers to 'try to think in terms of a variety of view points and in this way to let your mind become a moving prism catching light from as many angles as possible' [Mills, 1970:235]. Thomas maintains that, despite influential contributions from Popper and Kuhn on the development of scientific method, there remains, within education, an 'erroneous expectation that theory drives forward knowledge and ideas, rather than being a for-the-time-satisfactory statement of someone's intellectual leap' [p.96]. This does not mean that the approach to theory-building within this thesis is nihilistic. Only that an eclectic approach to existing theory has been necessary to inform different levels of the research, from the global to the personal, and to guard against a myopic approach to data analysis. The wide scope of the study, including both macro and micro analysis, together with a recognition of the active part played by those being researched, has meant that various related and over-lapping areas of scholarship have been trawled in order to both inform the study and to create meaning from its findings. This has involved a 'grounded' approach to data collection and analysis which will be explained in more detail in Chapter Four [Glaser & Strauss 1967].

2.3 A Socio-Cultural Framework

The first, and overriding assumption which has been used to frame the choice of theoretical perspectives, the choice of research design and the approach to analysis has been that of socio-cultural theory [Vygotsky 1978, Wertsch 1985, 1991]. This recognises the importance of cultural influences on the creation of meaning for

individuals who are embedded in a broader social system. It suggests that objects, people, situations and events do not possess their own meaning, rather their relevance and, therefore, their meaning is constructed through social interaction. The goal of such an approach is to, 'explicate the relations between human action, on the one hand, and the cultural institutional, and historical situations in which this action occurs, on the other' [Wertsch *et al.*, 1995:11]. This is closely related to what Bourdieu refers to as the 'field', which he uses to describe the structural relationships between individuals and groups, and individual 'habitus', which renders the field meaningful [Bourdieu 1977].

However, it is important to be clear about the way in which 'culture' is being defined here. For the purposes of this thesis, it is not related to a certain level of sophistication, aesthetic appreciation or appropriate education, but relies on a social anthropological perspective, which uses the term to refer to the total inherited ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action within a defined social group or community. These ideas, or shared traditions, are transmitted and reinforced by the members of the group, and are dependent upon context. Bruner has described this interaction and interdependence of the private with the public through a shared culture in the following way:

> Culture in this sense is superorganic. But it shapes the minds of individuals as well. Its individual expression inheres in meaning making, assigning meanings to things in different settings on particular occasions. Meaning making involves situating encounters with the world in their appropriate cultural contexts in order to know 'what they are about'. Although meanings are 'in the mind', they have their origins and their significance in the culture in which they are created. It is this cultural situatedness of meanings that assures their negotiability and, ultimately, their communicability. Whether 'private meanings' exist is not the point; what is important is that meanings provide a basis for cultural exchange. On this view, knowing and communicating are in their nature highly interdependent, indeed virtually inseparable. For however much the individual may seem to operate on his or her own in carrying out the quest for meanings, nobody can do it unaided by the culture's symbolic systems. It is culture that provides the tools for oganizing and understanding our worlds in communicable ways.
>
> [Bruner, 1996:3]

Cultural constructivists argue with biological determinists as to the relative importance of these cultural influences on individual action and the extent to which individuals shape, or are shaped, by their environment. Marx [1904:11], for instance, gives primacy to the social context when he concludes that, ' It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness.' Whereas, 'meme' theory [Dawkins, 1978: Blackmore 1999] draws more heavily on evolutionary biology. It identifies 'memes' as ideas, skills, habits, ceremonies, customs, and technologies, *et cetera* which are passed on from person to person by imitation. Like biological genes they compete to get copied but, unlike genes, their competition is for space in our memories. The resulting evolutionary process, however, is similar in that future generations become better adapted to their changing environment.

In this way, both perspectives recognise the importance of the historical context which influences the creation of the present in an incremental and evolutionary way. It is this bi-directional influence which is of particular importance in understanding the conditions and the actions of the present:

> History is nothing but the succession of the separate generations, each of which exploits the materials, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all preceding generations and thus, on the one hand, continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances, and on the other, modifies the old circumstances with a completely changed activity.
>
> [Marx & Engels, 1965:60]

This theme of individual development within a cultural context, which works in tandem with the concept of cultural transmission across the generations is also taken up by Bruner when he refers to 'culturalism', which he says:

> ...takes its inspiration from the evolutionary fact that mind could not exist save for culture. For the evolution of the hominid mind is linked to the development of a way of life where 'reality' is represented by a symbolism. This symbolic mode is not only shared by a community, but conserved, elaborated, and passed on to succeeding generations who, by virtue of this transmission, continue to maintain the culture's identity and way of life.'
>
> [Bruner 1996:3]

This thesis aims to take a Hegelian view of 'truth' which is not external, timeless and absolute but based on human cognition and contingent upon the relationship of the individual to their historical context. It attempts to recognise multiple realities and the importance of the cultural dimensions of time and space in creating the context for teachers' work. It takes what Archer [1984:7] refers to as a 'macro-socialist' view which rejects the holistic and deterministic assumptions that social structure dominates individual action in favour of a more moderate notion of 'emergent power' which recognises that social structures influence individuals in such a way that individual action is determined by a combination of social requirements [structure] and individual purposes [agency].

2.4 Three Cultural Sub-sets

For the purposes of this study, the socio-cultural framework which I have constructed draws on various economic, political, and professional concepts which help to create the sub-cultures which surround national schooling structures and inform individual teacher values. The first of these theoretical sub-sets, 'economic culture', has been used to examine various dimensions of globalization which have an impact on the continuing autonomy of the nation state. The second of these sub-sets, 'political culture', helps to illuminate the ideological underpinnings of national educational systems and various perspectives on the analysis of education policy. A third, and final, sub-set relates to 'professional culture', which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three of the thesis. Taken together, these elements create an inter-related conceptual triangle. Though each element of the construct can be considered a separate and developing area of scholarship and knowledge, I argue in this thesis that they are inevitably and inextricably linked. It is difficult to discuss any one element

without referring to the others. As such, these separate elements constitute overlapping domains which impinge on, and inform, the final analysis. All are subject to debate and each has within it underlying tensions which also need to be recognised and explicated. This relationship has been illustrated in Figure 2.1 below:

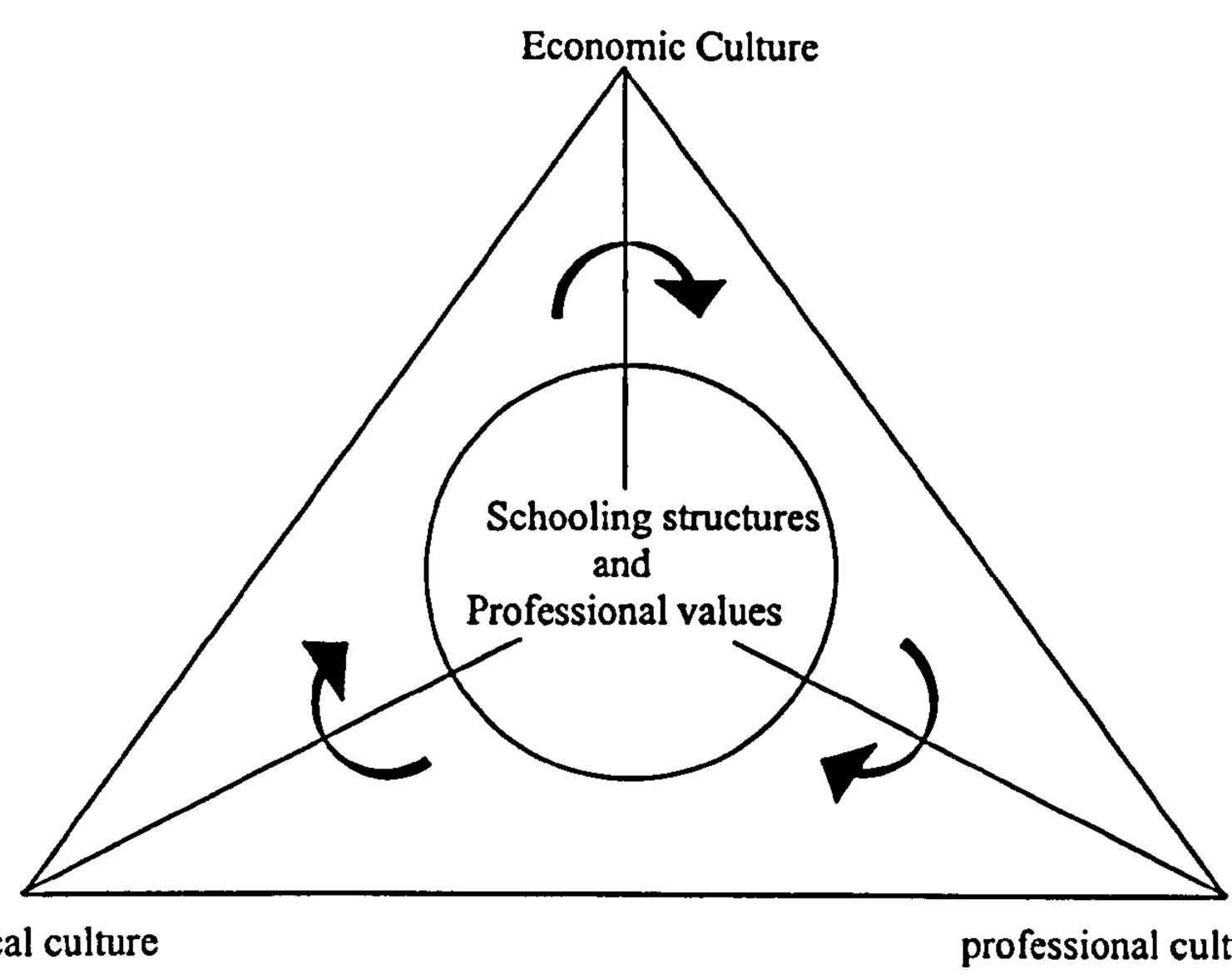


Figure 2.1 Three Inter-related Sub-sets

In the following two sections of this chapter, I will address issues surrounding the concept of globalization and the continuing influence of the nation state.

2.5 The Influence of Globalization on the Autonomy of the Nation State

From both an economic and cultural point of view, there is much debate concerning the autonomy of the individual nation state which has risen to ascendancy in the last two hundred years. The power of individual national governments to curb the dominance of multi-national corporations, created by increasing deregulation in financial and commercial markets has been questioned [Reich 1992, Hobsbawn 1994]. This has given rise to theories of globalization, which have increased in

prominence since the 1960s though, as a concept, globalization still lacks precise definition. Indeed Kofman & Youngs [1996:45] refer to it as, 'a buzzword, a term as ambiguous as it is popular'. Nevertheless it is a commonly used concept which suggests that a new 'technological' revolution has supplanted earlier 'agricultural' and 'industrial' revolutions to create major fault lines in the way society organizes and governs itself. It reflects a widespread perception that the world is 'rapidly being moulded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces and that the developments in one region of the world can have profound consequences for the life chances of individuals or communities on the other side of the globe' (Held *et al.* 1999:1). Such a position recognises that the free movement of the means of production has restricted the power of individual nation states to control national economic policy [Green 1997]. It maintains that it is no longer possible for industrialized countries, in isolation, to use Keynsian economic theory to control the twin dangers of inflation and stagnation. This has made governments vulnerable to competition in the 'creatively destructive' environment of the free market [Reich 1992]. On the other hand, there is recognition that national governments have a new and important enabling role to play which must include an investment in skills and infrastructure to equip individuals and businesses to thrive in this competitive environment. As a result, the role of education and its relationship to society is in an accelerating period of change. No longer can schooling systems remain hermetically sealed inside national borders when the relevance of those very borders is being questioned [McLean 1995]. Education policy is, therefore, being played out on a world stage as concerns continue regarding the content and appropriate delivery of mass education programmes.

However, the extent to which such a theoretical construct [i.e.globalization] can provide a useful form of analysis is contested. After all, exactly what is changing and to what extent? Is this change either quantitatively or qualitatively different from similar, imperial influences of past centuries? While Mercer [1997] contends that the current changes have no historical precedent, Watson [2000:46], meanwhile, suggests that, 'we need to remind ourselves that globalization is not new, is not global' and 'only relates to certain aspects of life'. However, Watson also concedes that current transitions are not benign and do have 'notable implications for educational provision as well as for how comparativists see the world'. Since the Apollo programme of the late 1960s, which beamed back to Earth pictures of its own fragility within the Solar System, theories have been developing with regard to our global interconnectedness. Initially, this was seen in economic terms and was, largely, a reflection of the powerful influence of large American food and drink corporations such as Coca Cola and McDonalds. It was also prompted by the deregulation of financial markets and a growing reliance on market ideology, which allowed the means of production to move more easily around the world and reduced the power of individual national governments to intervene. The 'invisible hand' of market regulation, identified by Adam Smith in the 18th century as the basis for economic prosperity, was spreading its influence from the world of commerce to that of providing a number of social services, including education. Since then the argument has developed to include issues of influence on national culture and the movement of ideas. This has been seen as more complex and more open to a two-way exchange than that of economic influences. As policy-makers look, increasingly, to the experiences of other countries in an effort to help solve national problems, there is much discussion concerning the extent to which our national structures and institutions are becoming, globally, more

similar. Green [1999] has summed up the major arguments in the following way:

> In its full-blown form globalization theory predicts the end of the national economy and the waning of the nation state as the primary unit of political loyalty, representation and control [Reich 1992, Waters 1995]. It envisages a new 'borderless' world [Ohmae 1990] where time and space are compressed [Harvey 1990] and where national cultures are transformed by the forces of global communications and cultural commodification. In one version this means the increasing standardization of world culture; in another a process of 'globalization' whereby the global and the local – the universal and the particular – increasingly interpenetrate, creating a new hybridity of cultural styles and mixes [Robertson 1995].
>
> [Green 1999:55]

Three different assessments of current trends have been typified by Held et al. [1999] into what they refer to as the 'hyperglobalists', 'sceptics' and 'transformationalists':

> For the hyperglobalizers, such as Ohmae, contemporary globalization defines a new era in which peoples everywhere are inceasingly subject to the disciplines of the global marketplace [1990]. By contrast the sceptics, such as Hirst and Thompson, argue that globalization is essentially a myth which conceals the reality of an international economy increasingly segmented into three major regional blocs in which national governments remain very powerful [1996a, 1996b]. Finally, for the transformationalists, chief among them being Rosenau and Giddens, contemporary patterns of gloablization are concerived as historically unprecedented such that states and societies across the globe are experiencing a process of profound change as they try to adapt to a more interconnected but highly uncertain world [Giddens 1990, 1996, Rosenau, 1997].
>
> [Held *et al.* 1999:2]

Within education, the debate concerning the influence of globalization centres largely on the opposing concepts of 'centralisation' and 'decentralisation'. They are used to analyse the extent to which national governments control their schooling systems and are usually regarded as positions at either end of a continuum, along which there is movement driven by changes in policy. Lauglo [1995:6] sees the concept of 'bureaucratic centralism' as 'reasonably unambiguous', but considers the concept of decentralisation as 'far more problematic'. He, like Green et al. [1999], sees a distinction between decentralisation as 'delegation' and decentralisation as 'devolution' and offers various typologies of the 'motives for re-distributing authority' [Lauglo 1995:7]. Much decentralisation in the English speaking world has been characterised as an offshoot of a neo-liberalist, capitalist approach to the

economy and state services which values diversity, individual choice and has a reliance on the market mechanism and management by objectives to create 'efficiency' and raise standards. Meanwhile, within continental Europe, a different response to globalization has developed, leading to the state playing a more regulatory role in the economy without the large-scale dismantling of social welfare structures. This has been referred to as a 'social capitalist' model and is reflected in the social and economic policies of Nordic countries, including Denmark [Lauglo, 1995; Green, 1997]. Lauglo relates this to a form of 'populist localism' which stresses the importance of learning arenas other than schools [e.g. the home, the community, the workplace] and calls for schools to be community-based and run by local government. In England, the establishment of a national curriculum, national testing and a centralised system of inspection has resulted in tighter central government control on the one hand, while the devolution of powers with regard to the management and budgetary controls of individual schools have also been seen as deregulatory, opening up opportunities for local choice and diversity, guided by the mechanisms of the market.

There is much contradictory debate here, but all interpretations acknowledge the continuing existence of nation states as political and economic units, and assume a link with a set of national values and beliefs which filter and inform individual countries' responses to global influences. It is, therefore, necessary to draw on cultural and identity theory to understand more fully the ideas which underpin the concept of the nation state and national identity, as this will play an important part in the analysis of the context in which the English and Danish teachers work.

2.6 The Nation State and National Identity

Green [1997] refers to education as both 'parent' and 'child' to the developing nation state. Increasingly, over the last two hundred years or so, the nation state into which we are born has played a significant role, especially in Western cultures, in building our cultural identities and defining, in some way, our essential natures. The state, together with its compulsory schooling system, has helped to create standards of universal literacy, generalised a single language as the dominant medium of communication, and helped to create an homogenous culture. It has assisted in the development of industrialization and provided an engine for modernity. Its significance has been reflected in the approach of comparative educationalists such as Sadler [1900], Kandel [1933], and Hans [1959] who have used 'national characteristics' to analyse national education systems. Mallinson represented the influence of national identity on cultural values and educational forms in the following way:

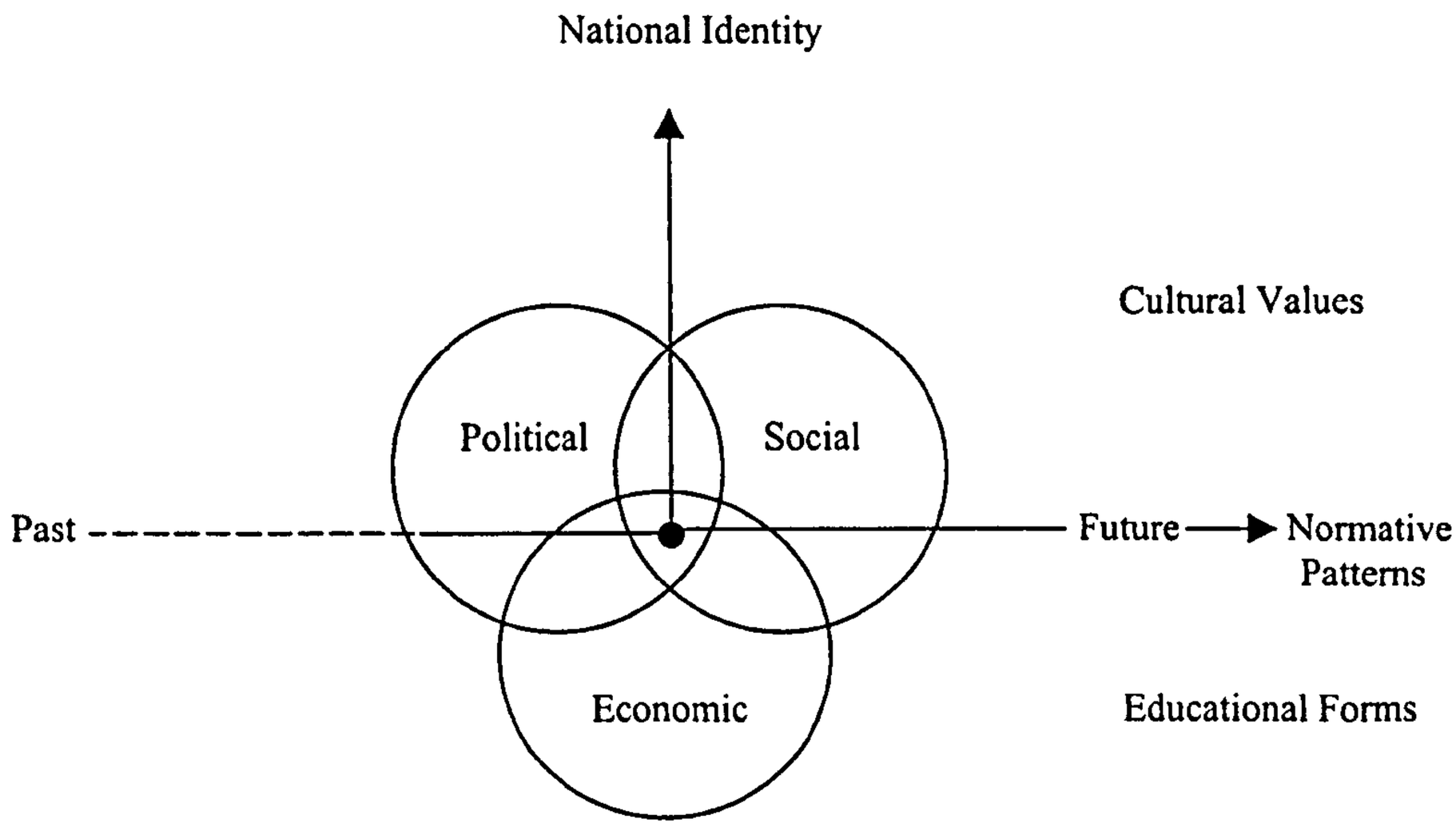


Figure 2.2 National Identity [taken from Mallinson 1975:272]

However, at the end of the 20th Century, there are arguments which suggest that influences such as the devastating effects of two World Wars and the need to assimilate a growing number of immigrant populations have made advanced nations cautious about using education to promote national identity [Green 1997]. Indeed, growing social diversity and cultural fragmentation have made it difficult for national governments to promote social cohesion and to transmit national cultures through schooling. Green argues that:

> ..the dynamics of education within the older nation states have changed. As nationhood has been consolidated and sustained, and with growing international economic competition in the postwar period, education has partially lost sight of this formative mission and purpose. In the advanced states now, with the possible exception of Japan, education is seen primarily as a means of individual and collective economic advancement. Citizen formation has given way to skills formation, nation-building to national economic competitiveness. The public collective nature of the educational project has been partially eclipsed, at least for the moment, by individualist aspirations and norms.
>
> [Green 1997:4]

Green also suggests that this process has not occurred uniformly, even among the older nation states, but is less evident in continental European states than in the English-speaking world of Britain, North America and Australasia.

Critique has also come from those who recognise ambiguities contained within notions of national culture and national identity. For, although they find concrete expression in national institutions and symbols, they can also be regarded as a discourse or narrative – a way of constructing meaning which influences and organizes both our actions and the way we perceive ourselves. Hedetoft [1999] talks of two opposing paradigms. The first is that of the 'organic primordialists' who emphasise the primacy of national identities as being part of a subconscious, essential nature, as illustrated by Scruton:

> The conditions of man [sic] requires that the individual, while he exists and acts as an autonomous being, does so only because he can first identify himself as something greater – as a member of a

> society, group, class, state or nation, of some arrangement to which he may not attach a name, but which he recognizes instinctively as home.
>
> [Scruton, 1986:156]

The second is that of the 'civic constructionists' whom Hedetoft regards as proponents of postmodern identity theory who emphasize the multi-layered nature of personal and collective natures. They maintain that in a modern world individuals have multiple identities which can include many strands, including ethnicity, gender and class. Hedetoft sees this as a personal and strategic dimension when he suggests that, 'identities are no longer just organic, natural, collective loci of belonging and attachment, but also properties of the individual, rational mind and therefore strategic points of negotiation, useful for the vindication of political, cultural and historical rights, and for the smooth adoption of and assimilation to new terrains of allegiance and culture…' [Hedetoft 1999:83]. In other words, national identity is not inherent or given, but can be negotiated and constructed by the individual as part of their strategic resources. However, he also recognises that cultural impulses can run deep and draws attention to the paradox of Europeanization which, although conceived in a divided Europe of competing national cultures to foster harmony and common enterprise, can sometimes be the focus of a resurgence of national feelings, for example the resurgence of nationalistic jingoism with regard to the introduction of a single European currency:

> The EU as a super-modern project of rational enlightenment and civilized harnessing of nationalist energies not only confronts, but actually strengthens, it would seem, the very passions of national myth, belonging, exclusiveness and sometimes atavism that it was – at least in part – intended to quell.
>
> [Hedetoft, 1999:73]

To help explain this, he proposes the existence of an 'identity nexus', which is formed at the intersection of these two elements of the political and socio-cultural dimensions

of national identity. He suggests that a nation's 'political identity' has the necessary structural resources – because it is so complex and made up of so many components – to enable it to refer to itself and its own value model when seeking solutions to its problems. This 'deep structure' he represents on a vertical axis. The complementary side of this is the 'socio-cultural identity' which he sees as existential in nature. In other words, it can be conceptualised as a horizontal or 'imagined community' which draws on familiarity, shared myths and practices, and a constructed, but shared, 'collective memory'. These ideas can be seen as linking the opposing views of Rousseau and Herder who, in the 18th Century, both emphasised the importance of education as an important tool for the building of national identity. For Rousseau, the nation-state was understood in political and institutional terms. Nationhood was seen as being state-centred, political and homogenous in nature. Herder, on the other hand, laid emphasis on the organic development of a common cultural and linguistic community, which was folk-centred, heterogeneous and pre-existed the idea of the sovereign entity of the 'state'. Such a national identity was rooted in a common language which expressed a common history and set of shared values and created a 'natural social framework within which various sectional bodies and associations operate and co-operate' [Wiborg, 2000:240]. It is these ideas which have had more influence on national identity and the development of education policy within Denmark. The situation in England, in contrast, is much more problematic. The separate national identities of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have been moulded, through political will, into the United Kingdom. A largely Anglo-Saxon culture and language has dominated the Celtic cultures which it replaced, though these are now re-emerging, partly as a result of regional devolution prompted by the EU. A national identity in England, then, is neither the political nationalism of

Rousseau which subsumes difference under the homogeneity of the state, nor the cultural nationalism of Herder which grows out of the heterogeneous nature of 'folk' culture. It has, in many ways, tried to combine the two approaches within a sovereign state where its people are 'subjects' rather than 'citizens'. This had had an impact on the provision of compulsory schooling and the nature of policy-making.

This study, then, while recognising the power of global influences, also emphasises the continuing power of national cultures to interpret and redefine the priorities for national schooling systems and the work of their teachers. An understanding of the pulling together of nation-state cohesiveness and the pushing apart of global processes is an important aspect of any study which includes a cross-cultural element. For, as Green points out, if the hyperglobalists are correct in their analysis:

> National education systems could no longer perform their historic functions of promoting national cultures and identities and generating the human capital for national economies: governments would loose control over their education systems and these would increasingly converge on global or regional norms [Usher and Edwards 1994]. The national education system *per se* would be obsolete.
>
> [Green 1999:55]

Having discussed those aspects of economic culture which have informed this study in relation to the impact of globalization and the continuing influence of national culture, the following sections of this chapter address the second strand of the thesis which relates to the political culture surrounding the work of teaching. It examines in detail those aspects of political ideology and policy analysis which have been particularly important in understanding the current context of teachers' work in England and Denmark.

2.7 The Influence of Differing Epistemological approaches to Schooling

As many influential thinkers have discussed [Freire 1970, Illich 1971, Vaizey 1971, Carnoy 1974, Ball 1990] the processes of schooling and the production of education policy are not value-free but inherently political acts. Stalin referred to education as a 'weapon' whose effect depended on who holds it in their hands and at whom it is aimed. While Foucault [1980] and Bernstein [1996] drew attention to the limiting nature of discursive practices – the tacit rules that define what can and cannot be said, who is allowed to speak and who must listen, and whose constructions of reality are valid and whose are not. Teachers can be regarded as agents in this process, who must work within the national structures and policies laid down for them. This idea has been expressed in more concrete terms by Hall *et al.,* who relate it to the power of national cultures in creating a policy framework within which teachers work:

> The Duk-Duk teacher is the master of initiation into tribal rites. The Nazi teacher was a miltant propagandist of racial theories and totalitarian techniques. The Russian is a missionary engaged in psychological warfare in a great social revolution. The English teacher is a social reformer. Everywhere the teacher is an instrument of society.
>
> [Hall, Hans and Lauwreys 1953:30]

For this reason, it is first necessary to consider some of the major discourses upon which education systems are based, in order to understand the significance of their aims for the work of classroom teachers. It is important to be aware of these differing ideologies when examining the work of teachers, especially within different national contexts, as it cannot be taken for granted that all schooling systems are based on the same universal assumptions about the nature of knowledge and the purpose of education. Particular attention will be drawn to the way in which the ideological underpinnings of the schooling systems in England and Denmark have influenced the conditions and expectations in relation to teachers' work.

Ideological assumptions about education are based, largely, on different perceptions of what constitutes knowledge and how it is best learnt. Nicholas [1983] contrasts three varying 'epistemological styles' which, though not exhaustive, represent and reflect three very different political, social and cultural systems. The first, he refers to as the 'Marxist-Leninist' style which is reconstructionist in nature and predicated on the assumption that education is first and last a political matter. Education is regarded as the central, revolutionary force to overthrow a previous 'tyranny of ignorance' and 'false consciousness' of the masses in order to create a 'new' society. Educational institutions become the main agent in this process and the state is required to retain absolute control over educational matters. It also follows that all pupils need to acquire these abilities, not merely for reasons of equity but also to enable the new society to be born. The assumption is, therefore, that with very few exceptions all pupils are capable of doing so. The aims of schools are broadly defined, including not only the acquisition of subject knowledge but also the ethical and moral development of their pupils. The process of teaching and the quality of learning are seen as critical in guaranteeing the creation of thinking, understanding, self-disciplined and enlightened citizens.

The second 'epistemological style' which Nicholas refers to is that of 'Liberal-pragmatism' which is embodied in the schooling system of the USA. Although less easy to define, Nicholas sees its seminal influence as John Dewey and regards it as an historical amalgam of 19th century Liberalism and 20th century Pragmatism. Here, a federal system devolves power and control to individual states, but encourages schools to play a central role in the homogenization of children from a great number of diverse immigrant backgrounds. The aim, therefore, is to invest children with the

common, agreed values, ideas and knowledge necessary for a liberal, American democracy. All citizens should have maximum opportunities to achieve anything and any wealth or power élites should be based on individual merit. Failures, therefore, have themselves to blame. Importantly, apart from issues of basic national defence and social cohesion, socially determined needs should not override those of the individual who has the right, under the Constitution, to be free and to pursue individual happiness. In this tradition, the practical knowledge of 'knowing how' is taken more seriously than the intellectual knowledge of 'knowing that'. Boundaries between subjects are less firm, permitting integration based on an eclectic selection of knowledge depending on a particular course or the wants of those following it. This has its roots in a pragmatic view of knowledge which was encapsulated by William James in the following way, 'The truth of an idea is not a stagnant property inherent in it. Truth <u>happens</u> to an idea. It <u>becomes</u> true, is <u>made</u> true by events' [quoted in McLean 1995:40].

Of most interest to the analysis of the education systems in England and Denmark is the third and final 'epistemological style' which Nicholas identifies; that of 'European Classicism'. This has its roots in Greek philosophy and has been variously reworked over time in the interests of Medieval theology, Renaissance culture, 18th Century 'Englightenment' and notions of the liberally educated gentleman. The pursuit of knowledge has enabled individuals to become, successively, wise, holy, culturally accomplished, rational, enlightened and civilised. However, its emphasis is on individual development and, like Plato's 'ideal', promotes a separate curriculum for the élite or ruling class, reflecting the differences between 'high' and 'folk' culture and the different 'classes' within society. Entry into the separate and distinct education of the élite was via the narrow process of examinations designed to test the candidate's

suitability and worthiness. It was rooted in the need to reproduce the *status quo* and considered that objective knowledge existed and should be pursued for its own sake. The search for wisdom, truth and beauty was considered to be the highest form of human activity, and the view that only some people had the capacity for such learning aided the legitimisation of hierarchies of humanity. This served to isolate the 'educated person' from utilitarian, vocational or skills-based learning in order that they should avoid being sullied or tainted by the practical world. 'Knowing how', or the skills of everyday life, were situated low down in the hierarchy of subject areas and only a small proportion of the population was regarded as capable of being initiated into the esoteric world of 'knowing what' [Nicholas 1983].

The German concept of *Bildung*, the French concept of *culture général*, the Danish concept of *dannelse* and the English concept of the 'educated gentleman' have all drawn on this common European tradition. However, important differences began to emerge during the 20th Century as different political ideologies and national circumstances altered the way in which such concepts were operationalized within the different national schooling systems. Within Britain, a strong liberal, individualist culture has interacted with the classical European humanist tradition to emphasize human character and its potential, rather than the structure of the physical world. Such an ideology draws on J. S. Mill's contention that the inalienable freedom of individuals is necessary for the improvement of all human life but also includes a Platonic assessment that only the élite can fully benefit from such an education [McLean 1995:45]. The central aim, therefore, has been to develop qualities among the young that will serve them in later life through acquaintance with the great achievements of individuals of past generations, though a more utilitarian curriculum

was considered appropriate for the children of the working class. Such an ideology has included a strong moral motif as well as the requirement for schools to sift and sort the population in the interests of producing an élite group of leaders and administrators. This has led to a system which encourages early specialization, and differentiation and diversity within the schooling structure. Within such a context the role expectations for teachers have been informed by the concept of teachers as 'independent professionals' distantly linked to the State but closely aligned to their individual schools. The relatively early intake of pupils at four or five years of age has also tended to displace parents, putting teachers *in loco parentis*. Teachers in England therefore identify their role with that of a strong pastoral commitment and specialised pedagogical expertise [McLean 1995] though there is some evidence that this is currently under attack from changing policy [Woods & Jeffrey 2002].

Within Denmark, as with other Scandinavian cultures, the classic European tradition has been influenced by communalism, a strong localist model of schooling, and an encyclopaedic approach to knowledge. This has been borne out of a context where small, often rural, communities constitute mono-cultures which share a common religion, language and folk history. In this situation education has been used to reinforce economic and social cohesion. Danish schooling has combined an intellectual and rationalist approach to knowledge with local control over the content and organisation of education, involving parents, teachers and administrators [Ravn 1994]. In such a context teachers do not usurp or invade the private sphere too early [children do not begin formal schooling until they are seven years old] but recognise a strong community function to their role, which combines expert subject knowledge with a responsibility for the development of social solidarity [Harrit *et al.*1992,

Kryger & Reisby 1998]. These ideas are explored in more detail in Chapter Five of the thesis.

It is important to note that these contrasting views of education are not simply differences of opinion, but connected to fundamental values, beliefs and attitudes – in other words they are ideological differences. Each of these differing ideologies has implications for the role of the teacher and has an influence on what governments regard as appropriate areas for the creation of education policy. As Nicholas [1983:6] suggests they have a profound effect on:

- *problem recognition*: a problem in one culture may be deemed an unremarkable phenomenon in another;
- *problem analysis*: the way in which the problem, once recognised, is then varyingly shaped, delineated, and formulated; and, finally,
- *problem solving*: the varying ways in which the problem can, by various policies or expedients, be eased, ameliorated or solved.

However, ideologies, by their very nature, represent an ideal set of beliefs, opinions and values. Within different national contexts these mutate into relative cultural constructs which are essentially local and temporal encapsulations, drawing on separate cultural and historical pasts. The process by which such ideology is operationalized into education policy is, therefore, recognised as being more messy and complex than these 'epistemological styles' suggest. As Ball [1990:9] reminds us, policy is borne out of the 'messy realities of influence, pressure, dogma, expediency, conflict, compromise, intransigence, resistance, error, opposition and pragmatism'. Indeed, Batho [1989:viii] when describing the history of education in England suggests that, 'economic expediency has frequently been as powerful a consideration in educational reform as any educational philosophy and that administration, including the personal predilections of a senior administrator, can be more determinant than legislation in practice'. Grand theory, therefore, is replaced by

more pragmatic political models, which seek to illuminate the creation of policy.

It was important for the purposes of the study, then, to examine the ideological origins of the schooling systems in England and Denmark in order to trace their influence on current policy and the impact on the current work of classroom teachers. These themes will be returned to in Chapter Five before they are examined empirically in the cases studies. The final section of this chapter addresses issues concerned with the investigation of policy in relation to teachers' work and explains the approach used in this thesis.

2.8 Perspectives on Policy-making

In any study which considers the impact of policy on teachers' work it is first necessary to define what is meant by policy and identify some differing approaches to its analysis. On one level, policy can be regarded as the plan of action adopted or pursued by an individual, organization or government; a clear statement or 'what is to be done'. However, the Oxford English Dictionary [1981] also uses the phrases 'political sagacity' and 'prudent conduct' in its definition. This begins to recognise that policy statements are not neutral or, necessarily, rational or logical. They include value judgements and beliefs. As Ball (1990:22) reminds us they, 'embody claims to speak with authority, they legitimate and initiate practices in the world, and they privilege certain visions and interests. They are power/knowledge configurations *par excellence*.' This has given rise to various approaches to the analysis of policy which are based on particular views of the policy formation process.

A pluralist approach to policy study [Kogan 1975] assumes that power is widely

distributed within society and that there is no monopoly of élites. It considers the 'state' to be neutral and, although it recognises some inequalities within society, it does not perceive these to have a significant effect on decision-making. Consensus is sought over conflict, and policy-making is viewed in terms of a number of *loci* where the responsibility for decision-making is shared between many interest groups. It does, however, recognise that certain interest groups have more influence in some areas than in others.

A resource dependency model [Salter & Tapper 1981, McPherson & Raab 1988], develops this idea further to suggest that decision-making between competing groups is not consensual. It characterises 'society' in terms of competitive self-interest, which is constrained by power relations. Government, therefore, consists of a complex web of interest groups, which compete for scarce resources in a climate of uncertainty. Powerful groups can win more resources and so ensure the realisation of their objectives. Policy is a reflection of the influence of the most powerful groups.

A neo-Marxist perspective [Bowles & Gintis 1986, Dale 1989], sees this conflict as being central to the organization of society, rather than a by-product of the policy-making process. It takes the view that Western capitalist societies are based on inequalities in ownership and control of resources and that this social inequality is mirrored in policy-making arenas. The state is not neutral, but supports economic and corporate interests, which in turn sets limits on the space for individual agency and what is possible in education policy. Education is seen as a site of struggle and conflict between competing class and other interests and education policy something which should be resisted and subverted for the greater good.

In contrast, a neo-liberalist approach to policy gives preference to individuals over the state and assumes that the 'market' is a more efficient and just mechanism for the distribution of resources than the state [Friedman 1980, McKenzie 1987, Knight 1990]. Inequality is regarded as a natural feature of society and the re-distribution of wealth is not regarded, therefore, as an appropriate function for government. State bureaucracies are regarded as inherently costly and inefficient, owing to the need to maintain their own structures, and they eventually come to serve their own interests rather than those of their clients. For this reason, there is an emphasis on diversity, local autonomy and individual choice.

Bowe *et al.* [1992] point out that, by using such perspectives, there has been a tendency for researchers to focus on either the generation of policy or its implementation, thus reinforcing the managerial perspective of the policy process. Generation and implementation are seen as distinctive and separate 'moments'; generation followed by implementation in a direct linear way. This has led to a structural-functionalist approach to policy analysis which sees implementation in terms of an engineering metaphor by looking for evidence of 'inputs' and 'outputs' and assuming a closed system of decision-making. Such an approach regards policy, largely, as 'what government does'. It assumes a rational, 'top-down', mechanistic process in which implementation is straightforward and unproblematic, with policies themselves being perceived as neutral and without contestation. Such an approach takes little interest in what happens in the 'black box' of implementation, and puts little emphasis on the role or existence of 'street level bureaucrats' [Lipsky 1980] who can influence, or even subvert, policy from the 'bottom-up'.

This thesis takes the view that, in the complex Western democracies of Britain and

Denmark, elements of all four of these major perspectives can be found because the formulation and implementation of policy is both complex and variable, and open to influence from many sources. Policy is not, therefore, something which, '*gets done* to people by a chain of implementors whose roles are clearly defined by legislation' [Bowe *et al.*1992:7] but a continual process of decision-making which is constantly being influenced by all on whom it impacts. More recent writers [Croll *et al.*1994, Osborn *et al.* 1997] have also recognised that policy-making does not happen in isolation. This is not to suggest that there are no attempts to exclude certain voices in the policy-making process only that it would be 'politically naïve and analytically suspect' [Bowe *et al.* 1992:8] to assume that it is possible to exclude them totally either in terms of policy generation or implementation. Policy, therefore, takes place in a context which has the potential to include many influences. Thus, this thesis takes the view that policy should be regarded as a 'process' as well as a 'product'. It must be considered in relation to an action-oriented, 'bottom-up' perspective which sees those interpreting policy, in this case the teachers, as also informing and making policy by acting as 'policy makers in practice' [Croll *et al.* 1994]. Policy, therefore, changes in the very process of its implementation and, as such, policy should be seen more as a 'pattern of actions over a period of time' rather than a specific document. It is also important to recognise that the study of policy is as much a study of 'non-decisions as of decisions' [Blackmore 1995:294]. Decisions about what governments choose not to implement can be as illuminating in understanding underlying ideological influences as what governments do decide to implement.

Bowe, Ball and Gold have represented this in terms of a 'policy cycle' [see Figure 2.3] which envisages three primary policy contexts, each consisting of a number of

arenas of action, some public and some private:

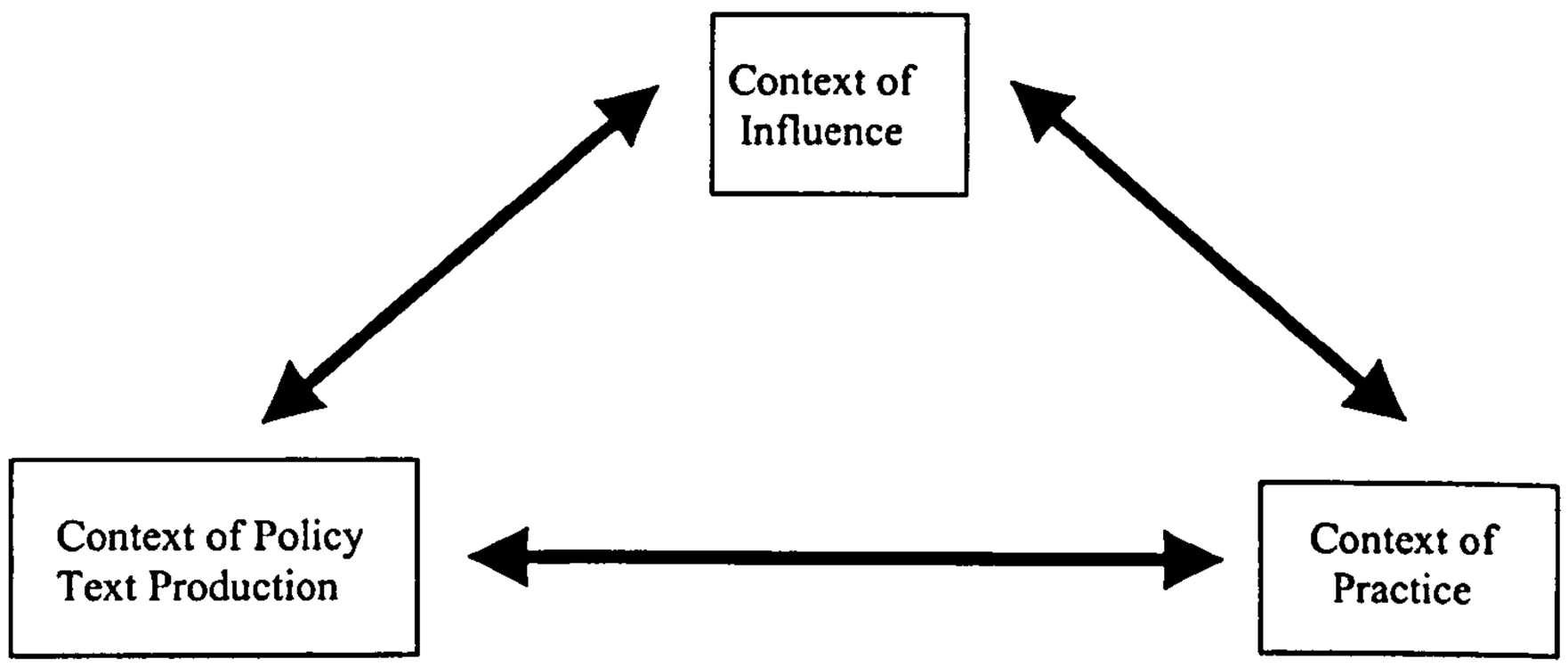


Figure 2.3 The Policy Cycle [adapted from Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992:20]

The first of these they have referred to as the 'context of influence' which they see as the arena in which public policy is normally initiated through the construction of policy discourse. It is here that interested parties, 'struggle to influence the definition and social purposes of education, what it means to be educated' [p.19]. It includes the influence of educational theorists, business interests, parents, administrators and the media, as well as more formal public arenas such as committees, national bodies and representative groups. This context of influence has a 'symbiotic' but uneasy relationship with the second 'context of policy text production' which is more inclined to use the language of general public good and claims 'popular commonsense' and 'political reason'. It refers to the political and bureaucratic structures which are responsible for the production of policy documents, which can be considered to be the formal expressions of a set of values and beliefs. Attention here is drawn to the difference between what Roland Barthes [p.10] has referred to as 'readerly' texts, where there is minimum opportunity for creative interpretation by the reader, and 'writerly' texts which invite the reader to contribute or even co-author the

text:

> Literature may be divided into that which gives the reader a role, a function, a contribution to make, and that which renders the reader idle or redundant, 'left with no more than the poor freedom to accept or reject the text' and which thereby reduces him to that apt but impotent symbol of the bourgeois world, an inert consumer to the author's role as producer.
>
> [Hawkes 1977:113, quoted in Bowe *et al.* 1992:11]

Making sense of new texts, therefore, can engage people in the process of trying to 'translate' the new ideas and make them familiar by linking them to existing ideas and practices. Readerly texts, on the other hand, depend upon 'presumptions of innocence' which assume that the reader has little to offer by way of an alternative. Teachers, by virtue of their training and experience, do not come to changes in education policy as 'naïve readers'. They come with:

> ...histories, with experience, with values and purposes of their own, they have vested interests in the meaning of policy. Policies will be interpreted differently as the histories, experiences, values, purposes and interests which make up any arena differ. The simple point is that policy writers cannot control the meanings of their texts. Parts of texts will be rejected, selected out, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, responses may be frivolous, etc.
>
> [Bowe *et al.* 1992:22]

This brings us to the third area of influence referred to as the 'context of practice' which involves the implementers of policy. As Woods & Wenham [1995:119] argue, this is not just at the level of the individual teacher but at every level of the system where different interest groups, 'interpret them, using different discourses to imbue sense to, rather than take sense from them'. Each of these three areas of context, therefore, has the potential to influence policy and, as a result, the policy process both complex and difficult to control or predict.

Finally, an additional dimension used for the purposes of this thesis is that of comparative analysis. Insightful policy analysis can be further facilitated by considering it in relation to policy created in other cultural, in this case, national

settings. This is particularly important at a time when national boundaries may be becoming more permeable. Halpin & Troyna [1995], in discussing the phenomenon of cross-national 'policy borrowing', agree with Dale [1992, 1994] in arguing for a form of comparative analysis of education policy:

> ...that involves rendering unfamiliar the national systems of provision out of which particular policies originate, including disassembling the 'problems' these systems are said to have for which particular reforms are seen as 'solutions'. To that extent, we agree with Phillips' [1989, 1992] assertion that the political, historical and socio-cultural settings of education policy formulation, development and implementation are fundamental inasmuch as they help both to keep certain policies 'in place' as well as to provide resistance to the implanting of anything more than selective aspects of competing ideas from other systems.
>
> [Halpin & Troyna, 1995:304]

The purpose of the comparative case studies then has been to understand the impact of national policy on the working lives of classroom teachers by fully examining them in relation to the historical, ideological and cultural contexts in which they have been conceived.

2.8 Summary

This study of the impact of national policy on teachers' work is set within an over-arching socio-cultural framework which recognises that 'meaning' is neither constant nor absolute but created both within the interaction between individuals, as well as the interaction of individuals with the signs and symbols of their culture. The study has employed an inclusive and eclectic approach to the use of theory, recognising the inevitable inter-relatedness of ideas and concepts, and the complex nature of social science analysis.

Three related cultural contexts - economic, political and professional – have been identified as the major stands which have been important in informing the analysis of the findings of this study. More specifically, aspects of the economic cultural context have been employed to understand the influence of globalization on the current

development of the two schooling systems in England and Denmark, while recognising the continuing influence of national culture. Aspects of the political cultural context have been used to understand the various educational ideologies which have influenced the historical development of the two schooling systems in England and Denmark. Thus, prevailing educational ideologies at a national level, together with the influence of current national policy priorities on teachers' work at a local level, constitute the continuing, inter-linked themes of this study which will be examined further in Chapter Five, as well as empirically within the case studies.

The third and final strand of professional culture is considered in Chapter Three which focuses more directly on teachers and reviews the various theoretical perspectives which have been used to examine their working conditions. It pays particular attention to the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'professional identity', which have been important analytical dimensions used in this study. A final section in the chapter reviews selected findings from the Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience [PACE] Project, on which I worked as a researcher, and which has been influential in both the design and analysis of this study.

3. CHAPTER THREE – SOME THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHERS' WORK, PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

3.1 Introduction

In parallel with the many influential studies which have looked at the cultural settings of national schooling systems and the influence of policy, there has also been an increasing interest in the lives and working practices of teachers as an occupational group. Major sociological studies [Waller 1932, Jackson 1968, Hoyle 1969, Lortie 1975, Nias 1989] have sought to illuminate the motivations, values, beliefs and aspirations of teachers in an effort to understand the essential qualities of their work. It is perhaps not surprising that the various approaches which have been used for such studies have been closely related to the prevailing policy context of the time. This has enabled the focus of such studies to change as the working context for teachers has changed, in line with their working conditions and changing social status. This section of the thesis gives a brief overview of the development of some of these major themes in relation to teachers' work and discusses the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'professional identity' in terms of Weberian bureaucracy, Labour Process Theory and theories of an emerging 'new' professionalism.

In this way, the chapter examines the third and final cultural strand, or sub-set, of the socio-cultural framework of this study: teachers' 'professional' culture. The chapter concludes with a section describing selected findings from the PACE study which highlight the changing discourses of 'professionalism' as evidenced by this major longitudinal study of the impact of policy on the work of primary teachers in England during the 1990s. The PACE study has been influential is forming both the research

questions of this study, as well as the research methodology. But first, the chapter continues with a discussion of teachers' work seen in terms of a Weberian bureaucracy where teachers aspire to increase their status to that of a true 'professional'.

3.2 Weberian Bureaucracy and Professionalization

In the 1960s, 70s and early 80s much of the focus of research into teacher professionalism was on a structural-functionalist analysis of the organization of schools and schooling and the extent to which teachers could consider themselves to be autonomous 'professionals'. This perspective set teachers' work within the context of a Weberian bureaucracy which assumed an hierarchical arrangement of workers with levels of graded authority, linked to clear lines of supervision, with areas of jurisdiction ordered by administrative regulations. Writing at the turn of the 20th century, Weber regarded bureaucracies to be a response to complex modern living, which enabled the efficient and effective administration of civil society and which were a distinct improvement on earlier forms of 'traditional' or 'charismatic' leadership. Workers within the bureaucracy were typified as having expert training, were employed full-time, and had salaried and secure posts. This enabled career progression within the organization, as experience and ability allowed. Workers within such bureaucracies also subscribed to a strong moral responsibility to serve both their 'superiors' and their 'clients' in an honest and ethical way. It was this final point which gave rise to speculation as to the status of teachers [Hoyle 1969, 1980, 1982]. Could teaching be regarded as a 'profession' in the classic sense? Teachers and theorists were reflecting on the conditions of other workers and seeking to increase their status to that of the established professions, such as medicine and law.

Such occupations had been held to differ from others as measured against a set of criteria which included the possession of a specialised body of knowledge, coupled with practitioner autonomy and self-government, and a client-centred ethic which guided their practice. This was seen in contrast to other workers, especially those engaged in commercial activities, which were guided by the economic demands of efficiency and profit. The concept of a 'profession' was a counter-balance which represented an 'ideal', encompassing the right to autonomy and self-determination, as well as a high level of status within society. As Judge explains:

> Hovering around the mysterious word 'profession', at least in anglophone societies, is an aroma of superior nobility: the classical exposition of this high doctrine is to be found in the works of Emile Durkheim, where the inherently moral nature of a professional activity is contrasted with the self-serving character of commercial activities dominated by material motives. Professions serve a higher purpose and obey a severe ethical canon, linked to public service. Fitting quite comfortably with that moral emphasis is an interpretation of modern society as characterised by specialisation, the pursuit of efficiency and a functionalist sociology.
>
> [Judge 2000:151]

For this reason, much work at this time recognised that teachers fell short of this ideal and used a criterion-referenced approach to advance the process of 'professionalization', whereby teachers could be enabled to more fully meet the necessary requirements. Within this framework Hoyle drew a distinction between the way in which teachers may focus on their immediate responsibilities and classroom concerns [the restricted professional] or engage with educational issues, structures and practices beyond their own classroom [the extended professional]. This was not intended as a value judgement concerning the relative inherent worth of the two types, merely as a description of differing approaches to the work of teaching:

> ....intuitive, class-room focused and based on experience rather than theory. The good restricted professional is sensitive to the development of individual pupils, an inventive teacher and skilful class-manager. He is unencumbered with theory, is not given to comparing his work with others, tends not to perceive his classroom activities in a broader context and values his classroom authority.
>
> [Hoyle 1980:43]

However, despite the increased level of education and training during the 1970s, making teaching an all graduate profession, Hoyle [1982:161] later highlighted the problem associated with the term 'profession' in that it was used both descriptively as well as prescriptively. Its use was usually 'predicated on the notion of a continuum of occupations at one end of which are indisputably professions in the public eye and ranged along which are what are variously termed quasi-, or semi-, or emergent professions'. Its use was also ambiguous and paradoxical, for as Hoyle goes on to say, 'It is used by individuals as a token of their own self-esteem, by occupational élites as these seek to improve pay, status and conditions, and by governments as they seek to gain an occupation's acceptance of a particular policy by appealing to professional responsibilities'. Hargreaves and Goodson have described this dilemma of the 'historically precarious project' of teacher professionalization in the following way:

> Yet, notwithstanding a few historical and geographical exceptions such as the substantial salaries achieved by Canadian teachers in the 1970s, the high degree of autonomy over curriculum development and decision-making enjoyed by British teachers in the 1960s and early 1970s (Grace, 1987) and the conversion of teaching to an all-graduate profession during the same period almost everywhere, the project of professionalization has been steadfastly resisted by cost-conscious, and control-centred governments and bureaucracies. Collectively and individually, teachers themselves have also often seemed ambivalent about whether their identity is that of professionals or cultural workers. They have therefore been uncertain and inconsistent about whether they should pursue middle class status in 'acceptable professional' ways, or use the collective strategies of union bargaining to defend their interests (Ginsburg *et al.*, 1980; Carlson, 1992; Bascia, 1994).
>
> For these reasons and others, teacher professionalization has been a historically precarious project: resisted by governments, bureaucracies and business interests without, and undermined by ambiguities of loyalty, strategy and identity within.
>
> [Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996:1]

In later work, Hoyle & John [1995] have avoided this ambiguity by using the term 'professionality', which is used to describe a type of professional behaviour exercised by particular workers on behalf of their clients. This is closely related to Helsby's [1995, 1999] concept of 'behaving professionally'.

3.3 Labour Process Theory and De-professionalization

During the 1980s, in line with a more aggressive imposition of a market ideology to the process of schooling, the focus for theorists began to change. It moved away from the more descriptive, Anglo-centric, criterion-based approach to the identification of teachers as 'professionals', to a more European influenced, normative model which viewed teachers as public servants rather than private practice workers. This involved a clearer focus on the study of government policy and its impact on the lives of teachers and the quality of schooling systems. It gave rise to concepts such as 'work intensification', and the 'deprofessionalization' and 'proletarianization' of teachers' work. As capitalist governments, driven by a crisis of accumulation [Apple 1986], sought to take more direct control over teachers, the nature and structure of their work began to change. It was argued that these structural changes were accompanied by an official reworking and redefinition of the concept of teacher professionalism [Ozga & Lawn, 1981; Ozga, 1988; Lawn, 1988; Dreeben, 1988; Dale, 1989], and that the work of teaching was being 'intensified' [Larson, 1980; Densmore, 1987], with changing modes of control, each one increasing in intensity [Apple 1986; Ball, 1994]. Apple referred to a new type of teacher 'technician' who no longer relied on traditional craft skills in curriculum and assessment but, while experiencing the intensification of work, merely implemented the plans which had been designed by others – thus separating 'conception' from 'execution' and leading to a proletarianization of their work. In other words, structure was seen as replacing agency in the creation of the role of the teacher, and their personally held values and aspirations were being submerged under an external drive for accountability and 'effectiveness'. Teacher unions in the England came into conflict with the government concerning what they perceived as a deterioration in teachers' working conditions and, more significantly, a

retreat from what they considered to be a more professionally autonomous past. Governments and the media were involved in what Ball [1990] referred to as a 'discourse of derision' and teachers considered that they were losing control over their work. These perspectives drew on labour process theory, based on a Marxist analysis of the basic conflict between the owners of the 'means of production' [the government] and the workers [the teachers], to understand more fully the implications of what was happening. Thus, if the school system was seen as the 'producer' of the human capital needed by the economy, in the form of a trained and differentiated workforce, teachers could be regarded as a 'specialised' workforce engaged in this production [Connell1995:94]. Such a perspective also drew on the work of Braverman [1974] who identified Taylorist theories of 'scientific management' [Taylor 1911] as being influential in the degradation of work. Theories of work sought to draw connections between the experiences of teachers and that of other workers, highlighting not only an increasing loss of control over the pace and content of work, but also a loss over the development of the aims of such work and the specification of outcomes. This 'modernisation' of work was characterised in the following way:

- the loss by the ordinary worker of the right to design and plan work;
- the fragmentation of work into meaningless segments;
- the redistribution of tasks among unskilled and semi-skilled labour, associated with labour cheapening; and
- the transformation of work organization from the craft system to modern, Taylorized forms of control.

[Smyth et al. 2000:18]

This work has now been further developed and, during the 1990s, more recent analysis of the work of teachers draws on a Post-Fordist and Post-structuralist perspective to compare the way in which policy has impacted on the schooling process. It draws parallels with that of the 'MacDonaldisation' of work in other

sections of society [Ball 1994, Menter *et al.*1997, Robertson 1996, Helsby 1999]. The pressure for flexibility and efficiency has replaced Fordist views of the 'production line' process, with its specialist workers and clear demarcations. Post-modern ways of working require multi-skilled workers who are able to move in and out of various work 'teams' as required. New policy initiatives have resulted in the need for teachers to work within clearly defined ways which are often designed and planned externally. They are subject to constant evaluation in a continuing drive for economic efficiency, as well as to ensure the 'delivery' of a set of narrow, cognitively-centred attainment targets. Accountability is combined with a clearly defined set of responsibilities, which has resulted in an increased and more diverse workload. Within the English context, issues surrounding the national curriculum, national testing, OFSTED inspection and performance management have been used to relate these more recent structural changes to the work of teachers. However, teachers in England are not alone in experiencing such changes, Robertson has summed up the outcome of different waves of policy change within the Australian context in the following way:

> A process of destabilisation has rapidly been followed by the implementation of a new set of exploitative and alienating regulatory controls over teachers' labour, with the precise purpose of extracting increasing levels of surplus value and hitching teaching firmly to the global economic agenda....[A]n explanatory analysis of the outcomes of this shift is revealing. The first outcome is a growing tendency towards the integration of the variety of tasks constituting teachers' work. This process has highlighted teachers' managerial role [e.g. management of students and other education workers] and de-emphasised their pedagogical one. The process of integration has also dramatically intensified teacher's labour. A second outcome has been the shift toward a process of reprofessionalisation. This has resulted in the establishment of a new set of regulatory controls over professional behaviour and competence, to be closely supervised by the state. The third outcome is the shift toward deregulation of teachers' unions, along with the diminishing wages and award conditions.'
>
> [Robertson 1994:145]

From a sociological point of view, such research has found expression in Bernstein's opposing 'pedagogic models': the performance-based and the competence-based. He has outlined these contrasting approaches to pedagogic practice and the construction

of the context in which learning takes place, drawing on his concepts of 'framing' and 'classification'. He discusses the influence of these models in terms of epistemological discourse [what constitutes knowledge], space and time [allowed in which learning can take place], as well as modes of evaluation, control [over the teaching/learning process], and pedagogic text [what the learner produces]. He also analyses the models in terms of 'autonomy' and 'economy', which will be important in the analysis of teacher experience in relation to policy requirements in Chapters Eight and Nine. For as Bernstein says, 'Competency models are less susceptible to public scrutiny and accountability, relative to performance models, as their products are more difficult to evaluate objectively'. Performance models, on the other hand, are dependent upon some external regulation so that pedagogic practice is subordinated to an 'external curriculum of selection, sequence, pacing and criteria of the transmission' [Bernstein1996:62]. Table 3.1, below, adapts Bernstein's text to describe the main features of these pedagogic models:

Table 3.1 A Description of Bernstein's Pedagogic Models

	Competence-based Pedagogic Model	**Performance-based Pedagogic Model**
Discourse	Themes, projects and ranges of experience	Specialisation of subject
Space	Individual control over the boundaries of pedagogic space	Explicitly regulated pedagogic space
Time	Implicit sequencing and pace, related to content and learner needs	External control over sequencing and pace
Evaluation	Implicit and diffuse	Explicit and specific
Control	Individual and personalised	Explicit rule
Pedagogic text	Development of competence	Performance in relation to text production
Autonomy	Curriculum and resources constructed by teacher	Regulation of curriculum and teaching texts
Economy	High cost	Low cost

[*adapted from Bernstein 1996:62*]

3.4 Collaborative Culture and a 'New' Professionalism

However, there is also an alternative and parallel view of the changes which have been experienced. This has emphasised the positive nature of teacher collaboration which can be used to stimulate curriculum development [Stenhouse, 1980], foster development [Shulman, 1989], and improve school effectiveness [Lieberman & Miller, 1984]. The introduction of the national curriculum has been seen as a catalyst for teacher co-operation which could promote a 'new' professionalism [Hargreaves, D.1994]. In this way, the changes are viewed as 'empowering' teachers to move away from an out-moded and isolationist view of teaching, centred purely on individual classroom practice. Such change could allow them to engage in flexible and creative team-working, concerned with whole-school issues and, as a consequence, develop both their pedagogical and management skills. What we could be seeing, in fact, is a process of re-professionalization. It is this view which is prominent in the most recent DfEE and DfES publications which address the development of the teaching profession [DfEE 1998, DfES 2001]. However, this view has been contested by others who have drawn attention to the limitations of such developments - 'It is still the case that critical engagement with goals and purposes, as well as the curriculum content in which these are embodied and embedded, have largely been excluded...' [Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996:23].

In addition, the key concept of 'collaboration' has also been questioned, suggesting that 'real' or 'true' collaboration is illusive, consisting of 'different forms that have different consequences and serve different purposes' [Hargreaves, A., 1994:189]. Hargreaves prefers the term 'collaborative culture' which refers to collaboration which is, 'spontaneous, voluntary, development-orientated, pervasive across time and

space and unpredictable'[p.192]. This leads to mutual support, increased efficiency, a reduced workload and improved organization. This is seen in contrast to 'contrived collegiality' which is 'administratively regulated, compulsory, implementation-orientated, fixed in time and space and predictable' [p.195-6], and leads to inflexibility, inefficiency and pointless meetings which frustrate teachers and misuse their energies. This view is supported by Hoyle & John [1995:99] who refer to 'collaborative professionality'which is 'emergent, voluntaristic and related to specific pedagogical problems' and not necessarily related to school structures, but arises out of contact between teachers. Nias [1989] supports the view that collaboration depends on the interpersonal relationships amongst teachers, while Elliott [1991] maintains that successful collaboration depends on the individual teacher's level of confidence.

Much of what has been discussed so far has emphasised a deterministic view of the way in which teachers react to policy. It has also dealt with teachers as an occupational group and, therefore, emphasised the impact of organizational structure on schooling systems and the work of teachers. In contrast, other theorists have regarded these approaches as too simplistic and too inclined to play down the role of individual agency in the way in which teachers' work has been affected by policy change. Such authors have given more prominence to the biography of individual teachers in the explanation of a differentiated response to policy initiatives [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Croll *et al.* 1994, Osborn 1996, Helsby 1995, Woods *et al.* 1997]. Typologies have been created which seek to avoid the dichotomies of 'Grand Theory' and recognise the importance of 'creative mediation' [Osborn 1996], as teachers become 'policy makers in practice' [Croll *et al.*1994], implying a critical ability on

the part of individual teachers in the interpretation and application of educational policies. This critical ability can be influenced not only by individual personal characteristics, but also by ideology which is important for teachers in 'interpreting, accommodating or resisting state policy' [Nias 1989:81]. This then points to the existence of a general pattern of characteristics, filtered through personal experience, which can be referred to as teachers' 'professional identity'.

3.5 The Related Concept of 'Professional Identity'

The concept of 'identity' is a growing area of study within social science, though the term is currently underdeveloped and ambiguous. It can, however, be used to describe the way in which individuals create a sense of themselves, how they seek social definition and, therefore, provides a useful, additional lens through which to look at teachers' lives. It can draw attention to the 'norms' and 'symbols' which contribute to a distinctive professional culture and throw light on the ways in which teachers' personal biographies interact with their professional role to create a professional identity. Nias [1996] suggests that emotion plays a central role in this creation so that the reactions which individual teachers have to their work is intimately connected to the view they have of themselves and others. She goes on to say:

> These perspectives are shaped by early influences, as well as by subsequent professional education and experience. All of these influences themselves have historical, social and cultural roots and contexts which transmit belief systems and perpetuate social and organisational structures.
>
> [Nias 1996:294]

Moreover, teachers in different countries and contexts will have a sense of collective professional identity which is socially and culturally based and which, in turn, will influence the mirco-political, social and political contexts in which the teachers work.

As Nias goes on to say, 'Teachers' emotions, though individually experienced, are a matter of collective concern: they are occasioned by circumstances which can be identified, understood and so have the potential to be changed, and their consequences affect everyone involved in the educational process' [1996:294].

The importance of this concept is underlined by Bronfenbrenner [1979:6], who speaks of roles as having a 'magic-like power to alter how a person is treated, how she acts, what she does, and thereby even what she thinks and feels'. Waller, in his study of teachers in the 1930s describes the power and purpose of this enculturation in the following way:

> There is first that certain inflexibility which is thought to mark the person who has taught. That stiff and formal manner into which the young teacher compresses himself every morning when he puts on his collar becomes, they say, a plaster cast which at length he cannot loosen...One who has taught long enough may wax unenthusiastic on any subject under the sun ....The didactic manner, the authoritative manner, the flat, assured tones of voice that go with them, are bred in the teacher by his dealings in the classroom. If these traits... are found among the generality of teachers, it is because these traits have survival value in the schools today. If one does not have them when he joins the faculty, he must develop them or die the academic death.
>
> [Waller, cited in Handy 1985:73]

This concept has found resonance in a recent DfEE-sponsored research project into teacher effectiveness which has defined and identified a set of necessary 'professional characteristics' for teachers, which it refers to as 'deep-seated patterns of behaviour' which have to do with 'self-image and values; traits, or the way the teacher habitually approaches situations; and at the deepest level, the motivation that drives performance' [DfEE 2000a:19].

Although all teachers are individuals and bring to their role a unique set of personal perspectives, it is possible to identify common themes, which need to be considered when discussing the role of teachers in a particular society, at a particular point in time. Hoyle regards this as the 'underlying economy of social life' whereby members

of a society tend to conform to expectations and fulfil certain obligations so that there is a degree of predictability in the behaviour of the occupants of a given role. We do not, therefore, continually have to 'invest time and energy in seeking to establish role relationships from scratch' [1969:37]. Hoyle [1969:36] quotes Havighurst and Neugarten [1962] who define the concept of a social role as, 'a coherent pattern of behaviour common to all persons who fill the same position or place in society and a pattern of behaviour expected by other members of society'. This is an important definition because it includes the idea that society itself makes demands on teachers and defines a nomothetic dimension to the role, which is expressed through policy and statute. It is this which interacts with the idiographic contribution made by teachers' individual biographies and aspirations, influenced by initial training, further professional development, discussion with colleagues and current practice.

Rather than the Cartesian 'I' of the Englightenment subject, which is based on a view of humans as separate identities, each with a constant, innate 'centre' or essential core, able to reason and engage in conscious, logical action irrespective of the external context, much recent study into teachers' work uses an interactionist approach which recognises teachers as 'making' as well as 'taking' their professional role [Broadfoot 1990]. It recognises that, with the growing complexity of the modern world, an individual's inner core, or 'self' is not autonomous and self-sufficient but formed in relation to 'significant others'. Symbolic interactionists [Mead 1934] have elaborated the concept that identity is formed in the interaction between self and society. The individual still has an inherent inner core of the 'real me' but this is formed and modified in relation to the cultural worlds outside, thus there is a

combination of the 'public' and the 'private'. This reciprocity makes both the subjects and the cultural worlds they inhabit more unified and predictable.

This study, however, recognises that these very 'predictabilities' of modern society are breaking up as a result of structural and institutional change, 'The very process of identification through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable and problematic' [Hall *et al.* 1993:277]. This has given rise to the 'post-modern' subject who is characterised as having no essential, fixed or permanent identity but one which is formed and re-formed continuously in relation to the cultural contexts in which they find themselves [Hall 1987]. Identity is seen as a process of 'becoming' rather than one of 'being'. As Hargreaves [1994:71] puts it, 'The fragile self becomes a continuous reflexive project. It has to be constantly and continuously remade and reaffirmed'. This is particularly pertinent to the work of teachers for, as Smyth *et al.* suggest:

> Schools, we believe, need to be considered as 'scripted' (Gutierrezz, 1994; Gutierrez et al., 1995) and 'disciplinary spaces' (Pignatelli, 1993) in which both students and the teachers are engaged in a daily project of 'becoming somebody' (Wexler, 1992). Wexler has used this term to refer to what students are up to in schools. We want to expand this to include also what teachers are up to. For teachers, schools are not places in which one can ponder the question to be or not to be. But rather there is a need to 'be somebody, a real presentable self, one anchored in the verifying eyes of' [p.7] students, parents and the 'panoptical gaze of peer accountability (Chapter 4, p.81). Schools are places which demand 'identity work' (Snow and Anderson, 1987). This project of becoming somebody involves two interwoven strands for teachers: negotiating the labour market, and hence their identity as a competent 'teacher' able to sell their labour power, while simultaneously working on a (social, cultural) identity.
>
> [Smyth *et al.* 2000:157]

These identities can, therefore, often be contradictory or unresolved, pulling us in different directions. In order to make sense of this uncertainty we construct a 'narrative of the self' [Hall, 1990] but, in reality, we have access to a multiplicity of identities which we can use, however fleetingly, and this can lead to what has been referred to as a 'crisis of identity':

> ....old identities which stabilized the world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject. This so-called 'crisis of identity' is seen as part of a wider process of change which is dislocating the central structures and processes of modern societies and undermining the frameworks which gave individuals stable anchorage in the social world.
>
> [Hall et al. 1993:274]

This process is compounded, in what Giddens [1991] refers to as 'late' or 'high modernity', by changes in the degree of trust between people which has resulted in demands for greater government control through a process of accountability in many areas of public life which had formerly enjoyed a large degree of autonomy. As Giddens points out, trust is now less personalized and more invested in processes and abstract systems which have created greater external constraint. In the case of teachers in England, this has been made manifest in such initiatives as school league tables, OFSTED inspection and, more recently, the introduction of performance management. All of which have the potential to create tensions between role expectations and the more personally held professional identities of teachers. This, as the OECD report suggested [see Section 1.2] has led, in turn, to a lowering of morale and a certain amount of teacher dissatisfaction.

It was these changes, brought about by the introduction of the 1988 *Education Reform Act,* which were investigated by a major, longitudinal study, the Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience [PACE] project [see Section 6.2], on which I worked as a researcher during the 1990s. The final section of this chapter outlines selected findings from the project, related to aspects of professionalism, which were influential in the research design and analysis of the comparative study of teachers' work in England and Denmark reported in this thesis. They have also served to increase the generalisability of the evidence collected from the two case study teachers in England by enabling me to build on a considerably broader data set.

3.6 The PACE Project and Changing Discourses of Professionalism

Central to the early analyses of the PACE project was the argument that schools, teachers and pupils are 'embedded in a dynamic network of personal identity, values and understandings that are constantly developing in the light of internal and external interaction, pressure and constraint' [Pollard *et al.* 1994:156]. Policy directives, therefore, are translated into classroom practice through a series of 'mediations' which mean that the findings of the project were both complex and dependent upon individual teacher circumstances. However, using Bernstein's three message systems of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment as a framework for analysis, evidence from the project suggested that there were identifiable changes to teachers' pedagogic practice which were widespread. The introduction of a highly prescriptive National Curriculum had imposed a view of knowledge as 'strongly classified' and 'established' and some teachers saw this as a devaluing of their professional pedagogic skills by implying that the 'delivery' of the curriculum was unproblematic with little need for their professional discretion. At the same time, initiatives such as the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies[1] had created a tightening of the pedagogic frame and reduced the time for teachers to interact in more informal ways with their pupils. Assessment had also taken a higher profile and become more categoric and summative, in contrast to a previously more formative practice. It was also being used not only to assess the progress of their pupils but also teachers' own teaching through the publication of the results of national testing in what became known as 'league tables'.

---

[1] Towards the end of the study, all primary teachers in England were being required to spend one hour each morning on the curriculum subject of 'literacy' for which they were given a clear pedagogic template, as well as associated learning resources. This was closely followed by a similar initiative for 'numeracy'.

The study also found that teachers were experiencing increased feelings of priorities being imposed from outside with a consequent loss of autonomy and personal fulfilment. Teachers' sense of external accountability had increased through constraints such as external OFSTED[2] inspection and national SAT[3] testing. Although personal and moral responsibility were still seen as important, there was some evidence of a shift in climate 'from a covenant based on trust to a contract based on the delivery of education to meet external requirements and national economic goals' [Osborn *et al.* 2000:64]. There was also evidence of teachers experiencing 'fragmented identities' torn between a discourse which emphasised technical and managerial skills and values which continued to emphasise the importance of an emotional and affective dimension to teaching. This was, to some extent, age specific as the study also reported that a 'new' professionalism was emerging among younger teachers 'who were more likely to find satisfaction within a more constrained and instrumental role without losing their commitment to the affective side of teaching' [Osborn *et al.* 2000:64]. The issue of professional confidence was important for all teachers as uncertainty in their ability to cover all the National Curriculum subjects in detail may have contributed to the loss of fulfilment and enjoyment experienced by some teachers.

It was these issues of external constraint, accountability, and a 'fragmented' professional identity, including as it did a commitment to the 'affective' aspects of teaching, which I explored in more detail using a comparative survey of a matched sample of Danish teachers. The findings of this preliminary survey, reported in Chapter Six of this thesis, were used to inform the later case study investigations.

---

[2] Offfice for Standards in Education
[3] Standard Attainment Tasks/Tests

3.7 Summary

Theories of teachers' work include opposing interpretations. Some see changes to teachers' work as being de-skilling and de-professionalizing, while others recognise an opportunity for personal and professional development within a collaborative environment leading to a 'new' form of professionalism, more in sympathy with the needs of pupils in the 21st Century. While some theorists consider that the structures imposed on teachers leave little space for personal interpretation, others concentrate on the continuing ability of teachers to act as transformative intellectuals adapting to the changing needs of society and re-interpreting policy as they enact it in the classroom. Evidence from the PACE project suggests that it is possible for these processes to co-exist, though this in itself can cause tensions. For the purposes of this study it has been important to understand teachers' work not only from the point of view of the structure of compulsory schooling and the role of the teacher as defined through policy and practice, but also to understand the experiences of individual teachers. It is this interaction between structure and individual agency - the role as defined by policy and practice and the space for personal choice which is compatible with the values and aspirations embedded in a 'professional identity' - which has been central to the empirical investigation of this study. These issues will be discussed further in the penultimate chapter of the thesis, Chapter Ten, where evidence from the study will be used to illuminate some of the processes involved in these opposing positions.

Chapter Four, which follows, details the research methodology and research design which were used for the study and explains the use of both macro and micro analysis in order to capture the historical, cultural and policy structure of the two schooling systems in England and Denmark, as well as the personal experiences of five primary

classroom teachers and their perceived space for individual agency. It discusses the use of previous research findings and the role of key informants whose reflection on government policy provided an 'iterative filter' with which to distil global and national issues which were then followed through to the local level and the personal experience of the case study teachers.

4. CHAPTER FOUR – A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach of the study and outlines its comparative case study research design. It explains, in detail, the structure of the study and the process by which data was collected and analysis undertaken. It highlights the concept of an 'iterative filter' [see Figure 4.2] which has been used to engage with analysis at several levels by drawing on the knowledge, expertise and reflective analysis of a variety of key informants, at both national and local level. This has allowed for a process of constant iteration and progressive focusing, in which information has been filtered through its global and national context in order to illuminate local priorities and individual classroom practice. Evidence has also been drawn from international, national and local documentation, together with findings from related research, allowing a level of triangulation which would have been difficult to achieve if the study had restricted itself to case study evidence alone [Crossley & Vulliamy 1984]. Such a research design is, therefore, unusual in that it combines the following four elements: a cross-cultural analysis of past and present national policy, findings from previous related research, empirical data drawn from five case studies, and a process of constant, iterative reflection, supported by an on-going relationship with key informants, over a period of five years.

These elements taken together have created what I have termed an 'iterative filter' which has enabled me to move from a macro analysis of global and national policy to a mirco analysis of individual teacher experience, while constantly checking my interpretations through an on-going relationship with key informants. This combination of various research levels can be represented in the following way:

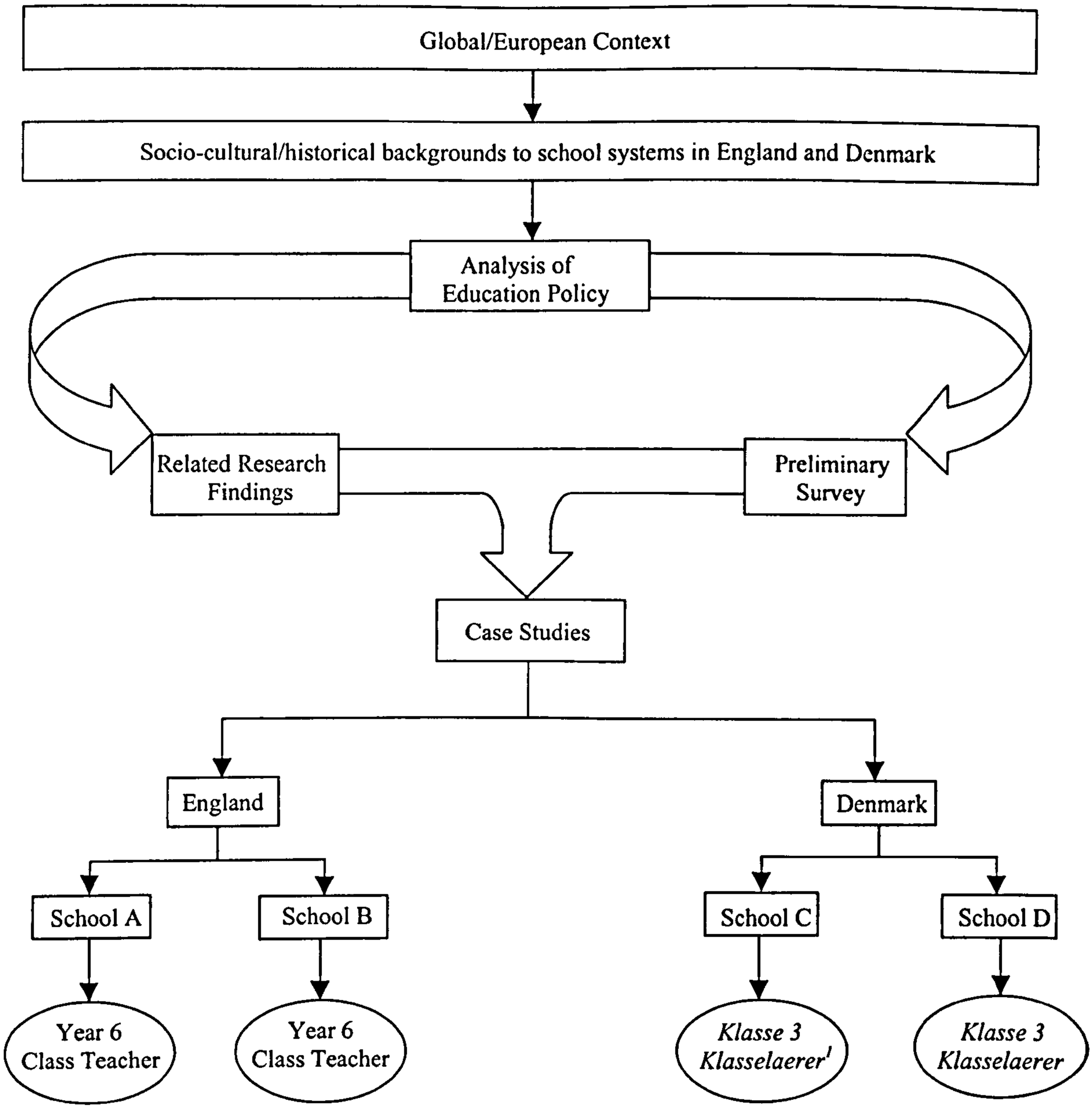


Figure 4.1 The Research Design

The chapter begins, however, with a brief justification for the qualitative and socio-cultural nature of the study. It discusses the inherent tensions and balance which must be struck between the greater reliability and generalisability claimed for quantitative

[1] The original design allowed for four teachers, one in each of the four study schools. However, the opportunity arose to shadow two teachers who shared the *klasselærer* role in one study school [Dalskolen], which resulted in five teachers being shadowed: two in England and three in Denmark.

methods and issues of internal validity when using qualitative methods which involve the active participation of both the researcher and the researched.

4.2 A Qualitative Approach to the search for 'Truth' and 'Meaning'

Despite the success and seduction of scientific method, especially in relation to the natural world, the 20th century began to see, 'widespread criticism of positivistic assumptions and perspectives within educational research and the social sciences in general' [Crossley & Vulliamy 1984:193]. Such criticism drew on an Aristotelian view, which maintained that scientific method alone would not solve all the world's problems. A distinction was drawn between 'science' [espisteme] and 'prudence' [phronesis], which suggested that 'while science aims at "eternal truths", making statements about what is always and necessarily so, practical prudence is only concerned with the "probable"' [Habermas 1974:45]. Such an approach challenges the view of positivism and behaviourism, which sees the universe as decontextualised, with individuals existing outside history, unaffected by social forces which impinge upon their personal cultural identities. It maintains that beliefs involving value judgements, as well as the institutions founded upon them, rest not on discoveries of objective and unalterable natural facts, but on human opinion, which is variable and differs between different societies and at different times. As Blumer [1971:21] points out, '...the actor acts towards his world on the basis of how he sees it and not on the basis of how that world appears to the outside observer'. The qualitative nature of this study has, therefore, allowed me to look for motives, intentions and stated reasons to explain certain behaviours. This draws on the work of Herder who, while interested in the natural sciences, believed that to truly understand anything is to understand it in its individuality and development and that this requires the capacity of *Einfhlung* or

'feeling into' the outlook and individual character of a particular culture, people or social organisation [Berlin 1997]. Such an historical hermeneutic approach makes use of an interpretive paradigm to illuminate meaning which is not only dependent on context, but can be changed through social intercourse, and thus used to develop shared understanding and theoretical insights. To use Kurt Lewin's [1935:73] classic equation: **B=f(PE)**, that is, behaviour evolves as a function of the interplay between the person and her/his environment and, as such, recognises the interaction of structure with agency. This is important in any analysis of the impact of policy on teachers' work because, as Thomas & Thomas contend [1928:572 quoted in Bronfenbrenner 1979], 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences'.

But there are dangers for the social scientist who applies a qualitative methodology. Bronfenbrenner [1979:19] suggested that, 'To corrupt a modern metaphor, we risk being caught between a rock and a 'soft' place. The 'rock' represents the rigour of the experiments used by developmental psychology, which are 'elegantly designed but often limited in scope'. Whereas, the 'soft' place is that of anthropological and sociological case study where 'experience takes precedence over observation' and 'analysis forgone for more personalised and direct "understanding" gained through intimate involvement in the field situation'. In this way, the researcher is presented with a dilemma. The 'rock' and scientific rigour of the hypothetico-deductive, quantitative research model, which serves the natural sciences so well, has limitations, especially when applied to the study of social phenomena. Conversely, when researchers recognise the limitations of quantitative methods and opt for a qualitative approach to the study of social situations, there is a danger that their findings can be criticised for producing 'soft', subjective data which is anecdotal, value-laden and of

little generalisable worth. I see this, to some degree, as a distraction and a false dichotomy for, as Carr maintains, there is a strength in the existence of a diversity of theory and method within educational enquiry:

> Educational research is, no less than education itself, an essentially contested terrain. The elimination of methodological diversity and the emergence of a single method of educational research would therefore not be indicative of scientific maturity but of a research community in which disagreement about educational values had disappeared or been suppressed.
>
> [Carr, 1995:98]

In this way, I believe that the two major approaches to research should not be seen in opposition but should be regarded as legitimate, alternative ways of ensuring reliability and validity through triangulation. This can be especially true in the case of comparative studies:

> Good researchers realize that each approach is a valuable tool in the comparativist's methodological bag. Their application is not an 'either-or' dilemma, but rather an issue of suitability. Methods must be matched to purpose. Comparative research methods are not mutually exclusive; they are complementary.
>
> [Theisen & Adams 1990:280]

'Soft' should not, therefore, be automatically associated with deficiency or negativity. There exist research questions which benefit from the positive nature of 'soft' data. Such data create an internal validity through the use of research methods which involve the prolonged, intensive and direct involvement of researchers in the lives and activities of the researched. Such a methodology has given me more freedom to concentrate on particular issues as they have emerged during the research process, thus providing for a dialectical relationship between theory and empirical data. Theory is used, initially, to help in the identification of research questions, but the data are then used to modify both the research questions and the theory. This approach has been referred to as 'grounded theory' [Glaser & Strauss 1967] and puts as much emphasis on the research process as on a preconceived hypothesis or the

resultant categoric findings. In this way, 'truth' is as much a process of personal enlightenment as it is a set of 'laws' which can be demonstrated through empirical evidence. It allows the personal values and assumptions of both the researcher and the researched to be interrogated, collaboratively, within the research context, in order to distil the nuance of meaning that might otherwise be lost. As will be seen, an ongoing reflexive relationship with, not only the case study teachers, but also the key informants has played a central role in this iterative process.

In summary then, the methodological approach to this study is set within a qualitative, interpretive paradigm and seeks, through case study, to set the personal experiences of five classroom teachers in their cultural, historical and professional setting by making use of a comparative, cross-cultural design. The study is nested within various levels of analysis which seek to recognise the interplay of teachers, pupils, communities and governments in creating the structure of the social setting within which education takes place. It also includes a commentary on the current social, political and economic climate evidenced by selected, national educational policy documents, interpreted and triangulated through the perspectives of a variety of key informants at both national and local level.

4.3 The Influence of Findings from Previous Research

To inform the theoretical and methodological stances taken, this study has drawn heavily on the findings of two previous studies carried out in the late 1980s and 1990s: one, a comparative study, the other, in which I was involved, related more specifically to the experiences of primary teachers in England. The first of these, the BRISTAIX study, investigated the influence of national context on the approaches of primary teachers to their work and classroom practice in England and France. It

investigated issues surrounding the concept of teacher 'professionalism' and sought to understand teachers' perceptions of 'accountability' and 'responsibility', within two different national cultures. The second project, PACE, was a longitudinal study of English primary classrooms, which considered the impact of policy change on teachers' approaches to classroom practice and the impact of these changes on pupil experience. A third study, which also had some relevance, was the STEP [Systems, Teachers and Policy Change] Project which built on and developed findings from the previous two studies. It sought to compare data collected from teachers in England and France both before and after recent educational reforms [Osborn *et al.* 1997] in order to focus on the continued central importance of teachers' personal values in the light of strong external pressure to change. All three studies were concerned with the effect of structure and policy on the space available for individual teacher agency and interpretation.

Findings from the PACE Project, in particular, had suggested that many English primary teachers perceived a tension between their past practice and the demands currently being made upon them by changes to policy. They felt compromised in a situation where their existing values and beliefs were being challenged and restricted by the imposition of a new structure through radical policy change initiated by the 1988 *Education Reform Act.* The findings suggested that many teachers in England were becoming demoralised and demotivated [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Osborn *et al.* 2000]. In the light of this, I planned an investigative questionnaire survey to compare these previous findings with the situation in Denmark which, like most European education systems, was also engaged in change. This was done to help inform and refine the research questions for the main study, as well as to provide a larger sample

within which to set the case study findings. The questions used in the survey were drawn from those used in the BRISTAIX [Broadfoot *et al.* 1993] and PACE projects [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Osborn *et al.* 2000], enabling an even wider context to be evoked. Details of this investigative study, together with the findings, can be found in Chapter Six in PART II of the thesis.

4.4 A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Documentary Evidence

To assist in the comparison of the context within which the case study teachers worked, documentary evidence, both past and present, was used to analyse the ideological and cultural 'forces and factors' which had shaped the existing schooling structures. Many of the Danish policy documents were published in English by the Danish Ministry of Education [*Undervisnings Ministeriet*] and policy documents describing schooling in England were published on the DfES website: www.dfes.gov.uk. This analysis was further informed through on-going discussion with key informants at both the national and regional level.

In this way, the research design aimed to strike a balance between the criticism of some comparative studies for being too policy orientated, on the one hand, while others are criticised for their particularity and absence of generalisable value. Much large-scale, comparative research emphasises the overt structures of different schooling systems, and this has a tendency to produce descriptions which are based on implicit assumptions about the political and social functioning of these systems. Their aim is a 'predictive social science model' which can help provide 'general principles' which can be used by policy makers to aid decision-making. As Stenhouse observes:

> ...the aspiration towards predictive social science models in the hope – to return to Lauwerys – 'that it may become possible to provide a body of general principles which would help to guide policy-makers and reformers by predicting, with some assurance, the possible outcomes of the measures they propose' has led to an *under*valuing of observation and description, an *over*valuing of the written source, of the statistical, of the accounts educational systems offer of themselves.
>
> [Stenhouse 1979:8]

This tendency for '*over*valuing' the official versions of educational systems has led to the view that legal and administrative definitions should be regarded as more valid than other definitions. There is a danger that government and other official sources are accepted at face value, allowing for no disjunction between the wording and meaning: the policy, the implementation and the practice. It is necessary merely to cite and summarise such documents in order to represent reality. This approach has inherent dangers and Beernaert & Sander have drawn attention to this by spelling out the assumptions which are necessarily being made in such an approach:

- The reality of educational systems is completely or fundamentally determined by *normative acts* (legal provisions, administrative planning and norms, political intentions and decisions at the level of Parliament or at the level of party politics, etc.).
- The functioning of educational systems is completely or fundamentally determined by the *organisational structure* as defined in general by the state/government institutions.
- Social reproduction through educational systems which is of central importance in the social reproduction of industrial societies in general can be regulated completely or almost completely through the *state/government, its interventions and its regulative policies.*
- The activities of the State in general and its educational policies in particular are completely or fundamentally determined by the *will* of putting constitutional norms into practice, and in the second place by *political programmes* and the *intentions of politicians,* by *political decision-making.*

[Beernaert & Sander 1994:26]

This systems approach also sees policy as independent of its socio-historical context, and that an understanding of the context is, therefore, unnecessary for accurate interpretation and understanding of inputs and consequent outputs. Large-scale surveys that produce highly aggregated data from many countries, such as the IEA, OECD or TIMMS studies, can provide breadth, but they are often frustratingly deficient in detail.

Conversely, Beernaert & Sander [1994:27] suggest that, where comparative researchers have concentrated on the 'realities, problems and actual transformations' of educational systems rather than the 'paper definitions, pompous political declarations of intent and utopian strategic plans of educational administrations', this has led to entirely different results. It has produced an emphasis on common problems rather than national differences. This study is cognisant of these dangers and has used official texts as guides rather than statements of fact in the interpretation of descriptive detail. This process has been greatly assisted both by the longitudinal nature of the study and the use of key informants as cultural and linguistic mediators.

4.5 Key Informants as Cultural and Linguistic Mediators

Warwick and Osherson [1973] point to four basic concerns which need to be addressed when engaging in comparative research. These are the need for conceptual and linguistic equivalence, and to ensure, as far as possible, an equivalence of measurement and sampling. Every researcher must recognise that they, themselves, are a product of a particular culture which may limit their capacity to perceive. It is also the case that many educational concepts do not have equivalent meanings across social or cultural groups or even across national boundaries. The concept of what it means to be 'educated' or what constitutes a 'school', for instance, can differ across cultures. Broadfoot *et al.* [1993:48] note how, 'in the BRISTAIX study "accountability" had no equivalent meaning in French and therefore the expression "professional responsibility" was chosen, since it appeared to have validity in both countries'.

Language, also, is context specific, 'even within different schools within the same country or geographical area, terms can convey very different meanings' [Webb &

Vulliamy *et al.*1997:5]. In Denmark, the English designation 'class teacher' can be translated literally as *klasselærer* but these words convey significantly different meanings in the two countries [see Chapter Five]. Webb & Vulliamy *et al.* [1997] identify 'whole class teaching' or 'group work' as having very different meanings in England and Finland. Similarly, issues of choosing appropriate samples and using equivalent forms of measurement are no less difficult when dealing with cross-cultural studies. Crossley & Vulliamy [1997:3] recommend the use of a combination of 'outsider' and 'insider' perspectives in the research process to '..help facilitate studies that are more sensitive to local contextual factors, while retaining systematic rigour and an important degree of detachment from the culture and world view being studied'. To this end, I have worked closely with colleagues in both England and Denmark so that they could act as 'cultural mediators', able to assist in the translation and interpretation of cultural norms.

Norris *et al.* (1996:4) draw attention to the problems associated with collecting data in a different language, 'The need for translation, however, did limit the length and depth of interviews and observations, and as ever it made understanding more difficult. Our own lack of Finnish made it difficult to explore nuance of meaning and made classroom observation more restricted than it would normally be'. In the study reported in this thesis, as a result of a widespread competency in English within Denmark, it was possible to collect all data in English, largely from colleagues who were both fluent in English and had some experience of the English education system. However, some linguistic and conceptual barriers inevitably remained and constitute a potential weakness with regard to the findings of cross-cultural studies. The value of

a comparative perspective, on the other hand, is that it re-examines the taken-for-granted and sheds new light on a familiar problem.

4.6 A Comparative Perspective

The research was designed to provide a comparative perspective by comparing the experiences of teachers in two different national contexts. In its broadest sense, such comparative research can be regarded as a process of 'discovering similarities and differences among phenomena' [Warwick & Osherson 1973]. This should not, however, be regarded as being a 'second-order activity tacked onto a more basic cognitive process' for comparison is 'central to the very acts of knowing and perceiving' [Warwick & Osherson 1973]. In order to amplify this ability to 'know' and 'perceive', this study has used data collected in a similar, but different, Northern European context to act as a mirror to reflect back upon the conditions and underlying assumptions found in the English context. For as Theisen & Adams [1990] suggest, 'We compare to make choices, to engage in debate, to better understand ourselves, our lives and the environment about us'. Noah [cited in Crossley 1999:259] points out the strength of comparative studies in developing theory by providing 'counter instances' which challenge us to 'refine our theories and test their validity against the reality of different societies'. Though fruitful, this is not an easy process, inviting as it does the need to become immersed in another culture, both past and present. Kandel, an early proponent of such holistic, comparative research, puts it this way:

> The comparative approach demands first an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces which underline an educational system; the forces and factors outside the school matter even more than what goes on inside it. Hence the comparative study of education must be founded on an analysis of the social and political ideas which the school reflects, for the school epitomises these for transmission and for progress. In order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system of a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and traditions, of the forces and attitudes governing its social organisations, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development.
>
> [Kandel 1933:xix]

This study, then, has included an historical perspective, including the 'forces and factors outside the school'[Hans 1949], as well as a discussion of the current policy preoccupations within both countries, in order to set the classroom observation within its national and school context. To lessen the complication of misinterpretation through cross-cultural ignorance, the study has also sought to develop, over a five-year period, an on-going dialogue with various key informants to seek national perspectives [see Section 4.7] which could be used to check the evolution of theory against local interpretation. As Theisen & Adams suggest:

> Comparative research, in the best circumstances, is cumulative over time, across locales (whether those be national or district boundaries), and across disciplines. Studies that have the greatest impact and relevance are those which integrate ideas and facts into observations that examine education as a total process, not as a desegregated set of discrete pedagogical or policy-making activities. Teachers, parents and officials act within the context of multiple social and economic pressures; studies that ignore this complexity, diminish their influence on social change.
>
> [Theisen & Adams 1990:294]

4.7 Case Studies and issues of Generalisability

Detailed case studies of five classroom teachers have been included in the research design in order to provide 'thick description' of individual teacher experience and to catch 'light from as many angles as possible'[C Wright Mills 1970:235]. The value and potential of such an approach to educational research, especially in relation to policy studies and evaluation, has found increasing prominence in the literature through the second half of the 20th century [Stenhouse 1979, Parlett and Hamilton 1977, Kemmis 1980, Yin 1984, Crossley & Vulliamy 1984, Stake 1995, Bassey 1999]. Such an approach eschews the collection of data sets from large research populations and recognises that the role of the researcher, as an individual, is central to the research process. Kemmis underlines the 'cognitive and cultural aspects' of case study and reminds us of the 'active and interventive' character of the research process, in which the researcher is not 'an automaton shorn of human interests and

programmed to execute a design devoid of socio-political consequences' [1980:119].

In contrast to other forms of research, the role of the researcher in such an approach has been characterized in the following way:

> Unlike the experimenter who manipulates variables to determine their causal significance or the surveyor who asks standardised questions of large, representative samples of individuals, the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit – a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs.
>
> [Cohen and Manion 1989:124-5]

It is this essentially singular and interpretative nature of case study which has led to questions about the authenticity and objectivity of the researcher and criticism in terms of the reliability and generalisability of such work. Kemmis refers to the unique problem in case study in 'justifying to others why the researcher can be a knowledgeable observer-participant who tells what s/he sees' [1980:119]. Stenhouse suggests that generalisation and the application of case study findings are 'matters of judgement rather than calculation, and the task of case study is to produce ordered reports of experience which invite judgement and offer evidence to which judgement can appeal' [1985:49]. Its strength lies in its holistic nature which allows it to capture and retain, 'the meaningful characteristics of real-life events' [Yin 1994:14]. Its goal, therefore, is to, 'expand and generalise theory [analytic generalisation] and not to enumerate frequencies [statistical generalisation]. It is high in what Crossley & Vulliamy [1984] refer to as 'ecological validity', though low in 'population validity'. Bassey suggests that previously developed theory can be, 'used as a template against which to judge findings and compare empirical results' [Bassey 1999:46]. He uses the concept of 'fuzzy generalisations' to suggest that well-designed case studies which concentrate on 'singularities' can, none the less, produce provisional or conditional predictions which have a useful, generalisable quality. The use of the word 'fuzzy' recognises the likelihood of there being exceptions, which Bassey

claims is 'an appropriate concept for research in areas like education where human complexity is paramount' [1999:52]. Thus, a research statement related to findings in one particular case can be open to replication, enabling such knowledge to become cumulative and useful in a wider context. However, it also recognises that the overstating of the findings, based on a single study, would be injudicious.

An additional aspect which I consider to be important in the design and development of these particular case studies is that of the ongoing, reflexive nature of the work. The study aims to seek understanding through vicarious experience which is deeply reliant on the prolonged and continuous contact of the researcher with the researched in order to both increase understanding and decrease researcher effect. So, as Stake suggests when cautioning against the unexplained transformation of observations into assertions:

> It is not uncommon for case study researchers to make assertions on a relatively small database, invoking the privilege and responsibility of interpretation. To draw so much attention to interpretation may be a mistake, suggesting that case study work hastens to draw conclusions. Good case study is patient, reflective, willing to see another view of the case. An ethic of caution is not contradictory to an ethic of interpretation'.
>
> [Stake 1995:12]

This 'ethic of caution' has manifested itself in the involvement of Danish colleagues who, over a five-year period, have provided advice and counsel on the valid interpretation of data collected in the Danish setting. This has also been true, though to a lesser extent, in the case of English data collection.

One final caution, with regard to the interpretation and analysis of teachers' storied accounts of their work in both England and Denmark is highlighted by Schutz when he suggests that, '...the knowledge of a man who acts and thinks within the world of his daily life is not homogenous; it is (1) incoherent, (2) only partially clear, and (3)

not at all free from contradictions'. This tendency adds another layer of complexity to the process of interpretation. Folk knowledge, he suggests, takes on for members of the group,

> .....the appearance of the *sufficient* coherence, clarity, and consistency to give anybody a reasonable chance of understanding and of being understood. Any member born or reared within the group accepts the ready-made standardized scheme of the cultural pattern handed down to him by ancestors, teachers, and authorities as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide in all the situations which normally occur within the social world.
>
> [Schutz 1964:92]

It is these 'trustworthy recipes' used to interpret the world with the minimum of effort which need to be unravelled, and it is here that discussion between the 'insider' and 'outsider' can be at its most productive. The lack of coherence and contradictions referred to by Schutz could be explored not only by the teachers themselves, through a process of respondent verification, but also by reference to national issues through the key informants. To help capture this complexity, the study has, therefore, made use of a multi-level, iterative filter to enable a detailed analysis of the data at both the macro and mircro level. This is explained in more detail in the following section.

4.8 A Multi-Layered, Iterative Filter

Given the constraints of time and resources, research design needs to strike a balance between the generalisability of the general and structural, and the validity and meaning of the particular and the individual. Some comparative studies have been criticised for concentrating too much on the structural or macro level of schooling, placing an over emphasis on policies at the expense of the actual practice of such policies [Crossley & Vulliamy 1984, 1997]. Webb & Vulliamy *et al.* [1997:2] endorse this view and call for the kind of in-depth analysis of key issues which leads to a '..reconceptualisation of the parameters of academic and political debate by

questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions often to be found in more generalised research and analysis'. Conversely, others have been more cautious concerning an overemphasis of the particular:

> ...it remains true that the insistent emphasis by ethnomethodologists on micro ethnographies of classroom life as providing the bedrock of hard evidence upon which any firm understanding of educational phenomena must be based, ignores the ways in which such slices of micro life are shaped by more macro structures and forces in society.
>
> [Welch 1993:11]

More recent studies within comparative research [Broadfoot *et al.* 1993; Broadfoot *et al.* 1994; Webb & Vulliamy *et al.* 1997; Elliott *et al.* 1999, Osborn 2001] have recognised the need to pay attention to both the macro and the micro level [i.e. structure and agency], as they impact upon teachers' work and classroom practice. Broadfoot and Osborn [1987] suggest that by comparing the ways in which teachers from different national contexts conceive of and carry out their work it is possible to explore the way in which, '..institutional structures, ideological traditions and policy initiatives mediate the educational imperative that is defined in the teacher-pupil relationship itself'. As a result of their BRISTAIX study in the 1980s, which compared the work of English and French teachers, they were able to demonstrate that professional perspectives and practice were strongly influenced by both the ideological traditions and the prevailing national policy directives, as well as their own values and beliefs. These are important issues which should not be neglected in any analysis of the impact of policy on teachers' work and personal experience.

This study, therefore, attempts to include both macro and micro analysis. In order to do this it draws on Bronfenbrenner's concept of the 'ecological environment' as being 'a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls' [1979:3]. It moves from the macro, policy level to the micro level of personal meaning, through the intermediary mesosystem of the classroom within the school, while taking account

of the exosystem of the school, or what Hans [1949] referred to as the 'forces and factors, within its local and regional community. However, this was not a one-way process but formed part of an iterative, recursive loop [see Figure 4.3]. Data collected at each of these levels both informed and reshaped the research questions and the research findings in an iterative way, which guarded against the effects of a purely 'scientific lens' which 'restricts, darkens and even blinds the researcher's vision of environmental obstacles and opportunities' [Bronfenbrenner 1979:7]. This reciprocal movement between the macro and the micro can be represented as a multi-layered, iterative filter, which was used to construct and refine meaning, as well as check the validity of the data as it was collected:

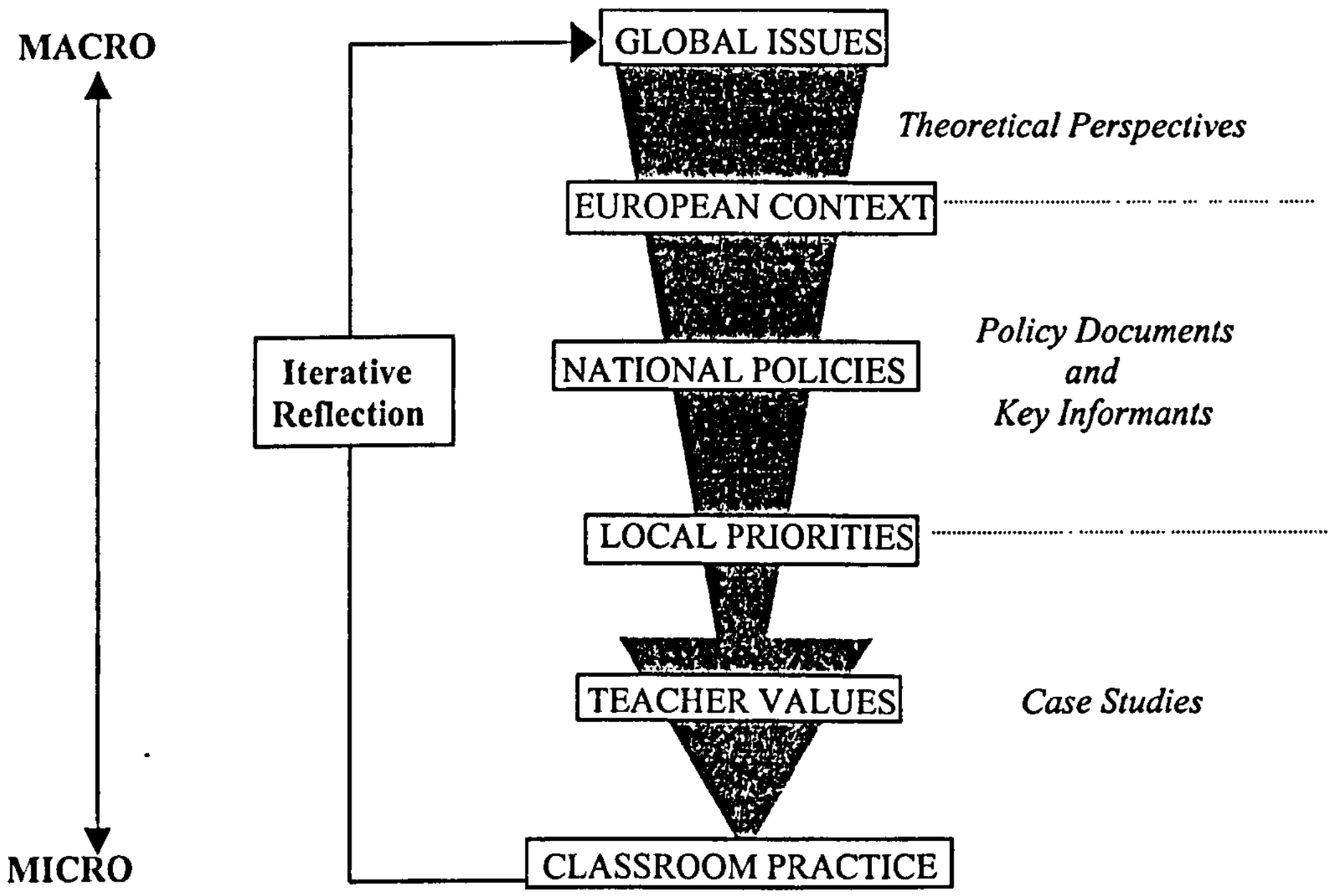


Figure 4.2 A multi-layered, iterative filter

However, because of the case study design of the study and its focus on the particular, it was also necessary to link both the research design and the resultant findings to a broader base of research 'knowledge'. Bassey [1999] argues for the replication of

educational studies in order to build on previous findings, and make them more generalisable and, therefore, more relevant to policy makers.

4.9 A Detailed Description of the Research Design and Methods used for the Case Studies

To understand more fully the daily working lives of classroom teachers in the two national contexts, five case studies were planned: two in England and three in Denmark, in four school sites. Colleagues from the local initial teacher education institutions were consulted to make use of their extensive knowledge of, and access to, the schools within the area to find the most appropriate schools, and the most appropriate teachers within those schools. As Figure 4.1 shows, the design of the individual case studies drew on cultural and policy data collected at the global, European and national level, which was in turn filtered through the findings from related research projects and data collected from a preliminary survey of teacher attitudes. Thus, the individual case studies were designed to interrogate the implications of policy as they were interpreted and mediated by individual schools and individual teachers in separate national contexts.

4.9(i) School Sample Selection: In order to be able to draw some general conclusions with regard to the findings, the teachers, and the schools within which they worked, were chosen to be representative in the sense that they closely approximated to the situation which would be experienced by the majority of teachers and the majority of pupils in the two countries under consideration. To this end, similar, matched geographical regions were chosen in which to locate the study: one in the south west of England, the other on the large Danish island of Funen. Both regions contained a major city, had a mixed economy based largely on small industry,

financial services, and leisure and tourism, and each had a social mix which was broadly representative of the countries as a whole. It was important that the areas chosen were not subject to the particular effects of a declining heavy industry, large numbers of immigrant/ethnic minorities, or the particular effects of a capital city conurbation as this may have compromised the extent to which the sample could be regarded as representative of the national education system as a whole. However, to enhance the claim that the sample addressed the 'typical', it was necessary that, within each of the two local regions, two contrasting schools were identified which could be placed at different points on a continuum which saw schools in affluent, suburban areas having more social and financial advantages. This was in contrast to schools in inner city areas where economic and social concerns were more likely to impact disadvantageously on the life chances of its inhabitants. It was not necessary that the schools should be at the extremes of such a continuum, only that they should be at different points along it, in order to recognise the different types of experience which are prevalent in today's society and capture the majority experience. To avoid any possible distortions from schools with atypical problems [e.g. a staff dynamic which was detrimental to the smooth running of the school], the schools also had to be assessed as successful in the view of staff, parents and, in the case of English schools, their OFSTED inspections. To this end, colleagues from the local initial teacher education institutions were asked to identify schools which were well run, popular with parents and had a confident staff who were generally forward looking with regard to recent changes in education policy.

4.9(ii) Teacher Sample Selection: The choice of the study teachers also needed consideration as it was necessary to identify certain characteristics in England which

could be matched in Denmark. A choice was made to focus on Year 6 teachers in England [i.e. teachers of 10 and 11 year-olds]. Year 6 represents the final year of primary education and, as such, an important watershed for pupils as they prepared to move on to secondary education. Teachers of Year 6 pupils were also chosen because they, among their colleagues in primary schools, had been identified as having had to change their practice most radically with the introduction in 1989 of a content-heavy national curriculum, and the requirements of detailed record-keeping and national testing. Issues had been identified with respect to both their depth, as well as breadth, of subject knowledge, and pressures had been created which required them to organize the curriculum to allow for sometimes intensive pre-SAT preparation [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Osborn *et al.* 2000]. Both these factors represented a major break with their normal routines and had thrown into relief a tension between their existing values and attitudes and the new demands being made upon them. Pressures such as league tables, parental expectations and the interface with secondary schooling all fell more heavily on these teachers than their colleagues responsible for younger pupils. Two additional criteria used to select the teachers for the case studies were that they should be experienced [i.e. more than ten years of classroom teaching], and regarded by their head teachers and colleagues from the initial teacher training institution as being competent and well-liked by parents. This was to ensure that I did not select for study teachers who had been particularly badly affected by the changes or were struggling to meet expectations. It was necessary for them to have a certain amount of experience so that they were able to draw on past experience to reflect on the current changes.

However, this selection posed some problems with regard to an equivalent sample in Denmark where the structure of primary schooling was different [see Chapter 5].

Therefore, as well as the need for the teachers to be experienced and well-regarded by their head teachers and initial teacher education colleagues, the age of the pupils they taught and their role as their 'class teacher' [see Chapter 5] were also used to identify equivalencies within the sample. Therefore teachers of 10 year-old pupils [Grade 3] within the sample schools were asked if they would co-operate with the study. Within one Danish study school, the opportunity arose to shadow two teachers, one male and one female, who had jointly taken on the role of *klasselærer*. This meant that three teachers took part in the study in Denmark. It was also important, for the collaborative nature of the project, that all case study teachers were enthusiastic about taking part and relaxed about my presence in their classrooms during the one week work-shadowing period. One final criterion, in the case of the Danish schools, was that their head teachers and selected Grade 3 teachers should have the ability and desire to speak with me in English, notwithstanding the involvement of the cultural and linguistic mediators at the local initial teacher education institution.

The sample, therefore, claims to be 'typical' in the sense that the experiences of the teachers selected could be regarded as common to a large number of their colleagues. Due to the small size of the sample, it does not claim, however, to highlight any differences which may be due to such variables as age, gender, ethnic origins, length of service or differences in pre-service qualifications. Although some differences did arise that could perhaps be attributed to the relative age or length of service of the teachers involved in the study, the small size of the study means that these should be treated with caution as to their generalisability.

4.9(iii) Access and Ethical Guidelines: Once several appropriate schools had been identified in both countries, letters were sent to the head teachers enclosing an outline

of the aims of the study, together with a copy of the ethical guidelines which would be adhered to [see Appendix I]. These guidelines were based on the two principles of ethical research which hold that those being researched should be enabled to give their 'informed consent' before the research takes place, and that during and subsequent to the research process they should be protected from 'harm'. These principles were partly addressed through the use of detailed, face-to-face discussions with the head teachers and potential study teachers before they agreed to take part, as well as an on-going opportunity for those taking part to comment on interpretations of the data as they developed. The researched were also asked to seek the agreement of other colleagues in relation to my presence in the staff room and at other school events. Both during and after the research process constant checks were made with those involved to provide feedback on the interpretations made, and the schools and their staff were assured that they were being studied as representatives of a general experience and not specific individuals. As such, they would not be identified, except by the use of pseudonyms, in any subsequent publication of the findings.

To aid access, the requests to schools were endorsed by colleagues from the teacher education institutions with whom they worked as placement schools for student teachers on the practice elements of their courses. Once the final four case study schools had been identified, together with the four case study class teachers, initial discussions were held regarding a timetable for the research. It was important that head teachers, class teachers and other staff within the schools took part willingly in the study and that they showed commitment to the value of such a study. It was also important to develop a rapport with the case study teachers involved in work-shadowing, so that they did not feel threatened, or significantly alter their practice

because of my presence within their classrooms. It was hoped that this, together with a low profile approach in their classrooms would keep researcher effects to a minimum.

4.9(iv) Interviewing: Various types of interview were used throughout the study depending on their context and purpose. A large number of directed conversations were conducted with key informants in both countries, who were chosen to illustrate differing perspectives of the role of teachers and the impact of government policy on their classroom practice. These included teacher educators, teacher union officials, ministry officials, politicians, as well as teachers and head teachers who were not part of the study sample. These conversations were wide-ranging and were used to glean information about the issues which concerned those involved in education. They took place both within the offices of those involved, as well as less formal settings such as common rooms or restaurants. The method of recording these interviews ranged from tape-recordings which were later transcribed, through note-taking within the interview situation, to summary notes constructed after the interview had taken place. The most appropriate mode was decided upon given the preference of the interviewee and the context of the interview.

Within the study school settings, more formal, semi-structured interviews were carried out with the head teachers and class teachers involved [see Appendices II and III] during the week of formal work-shadowing. These were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Additional, less formal interviews and conversations were held with head teachers, teachers and other school staff as the opportunities arose. Much informal, general discussion was conducted in staff rooms, during break times and lunch times.

4.9(v) Observation: Each of the case study teachers was shadowed for five days, within their work context. This enabled me to understand, at first hand, some of the tensions, dilemmas, and satisfactions which they experienced, in order to relate these back to the wider issues raised through conversation with the key informants. An observational schedule [see Appendix IV] was used to describe activities, note down examples of dialogue and add explanatory contextual notes where appropriate. These notes were later used to construct a composite 'Day in the Life' for each of the teachers involved in the study [see Appendices XV, XVIII, XXI and XXV], which have been discussed further in Chapters Eight and Nine.

4.9(vi) Documentary and Photographic Material: To set the work-shadowing experiences in context various documents were also collected, such as school prospectuses, policy documents, termly plans, weekly timetables [see Appendices XIV, XVII, XX and XXIV], lesson plans, work sheets and, in the case of the English schools, OFSTED reports. Photographs were also taken to illustrate the environment around each school, the school buildings and facilities [see Appendices IX, X, XI and XII] and the specific classrooms being investigated [see Appendices XIII, XVI, XIX and XXIII].

4.9(vii) Reflective Diaries: In recognition of the extended workload of many teachers, each of the study teachers agreed to complete a reflective workload diary schedule [see Appendix V] in which to note down, over the course of a summer term, the total number of hours worked, both inside and outside the school day, on school premises or elsewhere. In order to ensure a degree of uniformity in the way in which the individual teachers interpreted the different categories, I worked with them during

the work-shadowing week to help them complete their first set of entries. They were also asked to note down for each week a positive experience which enhanced their view of their work and a negative experience which frustrated their aims and ambitions. These form what Walker [1985] refers to as 'intraviews' which rely on the 'power of introspection' to enhance data gathered in other ways such as interview and observation. These were later analysed to compare the workload and functions of the teachers in both national contexts and to identify similarities and differences in their approach to their professional roles [see Chapters Eight and Nine].

4.9(viii) Stimulated Recall: The photographic data collected in the English schools was used to stimulate discussions with the Danish teachers on the conditions of service and pedagogic priorities of their English colleagues and photographs taken in the Danish schools and classrooms were used to stimulate similar discussions with the English teachers. The Danish teachers were also taken to visit their English counterparts and face-to-face, through a process of 'reflective cross-cultural interviewing' [Spindler & Spindler 1987], commonalities and differences in national perspectives were elicited. A three-way communication by electronic mail was also established between the researcher, the English teachers and the Danish teachers to create an ongoing dialogue, centred on issues which were relevant to the study. As the study progressed, I returned to the teachers in both countries to receive feedback from them on the descriptions of what I had observed in order that internal validity could be strengthened through respondent verification of researcher impressions and interpretations. More formal interviews were also held with the two English teachers to describe their experiences of the 'threshold' process which took place during the period of the study [see Chapter Eight].

4.10 Summary

Set in a qualitative framework, this thesis uses a case study format within a cross-cultural context to understand the lived experiences of five classroom teachers and relate those experiences to the global, national and local priorities imposed by policy, and custom and practice. It makes use of an iterative filter [see Figure 4.2], which is enhanced by constant recursive loops at each stage of analysis [see Figure 4.3], to move from the macro analysis to policy to the micro analysis of individual experience and capture the complexity which is inherent in social interaction:

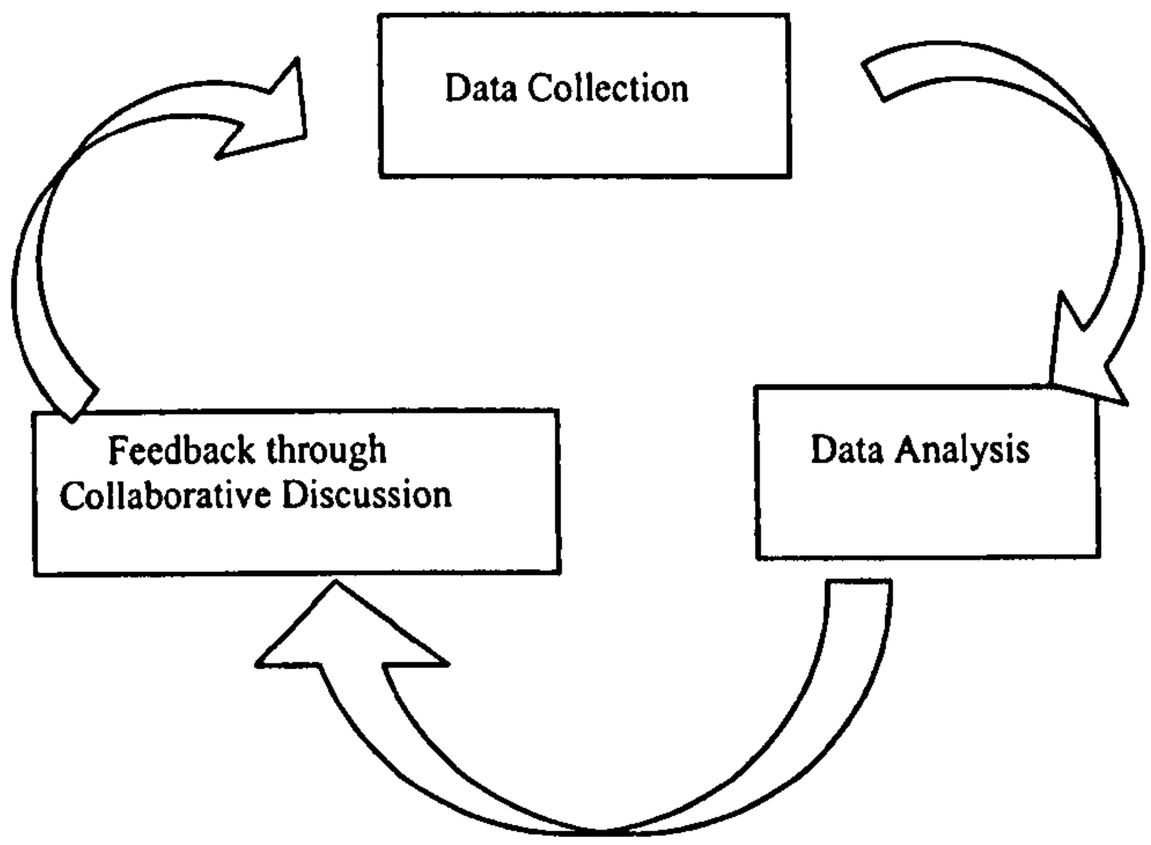


Figure 4.3 An Iterative Recursive Loop

An analysis of national policy documentation has been enhanced by an on-going relationship with key informants, and data from five teacher case studies have been combined with evidence from previous related research to make possible a greater degree generalisability. The study took place over a five-year period and moved through several distinct phases which, although broadly consecutive, should not be seen as discrete elements of data collection with impermeable boundaries. Rather, in keeping with the iterative and recursive nature of the study, these separate elements

were constantly referred back to in order to make some preliminary analysis and refine future data collection approaches [see Figure 4.4]. In this way, the study aimed to relate the influences of national structure to the space available for individual teacher agency, or, as C. Wright Mills [1970] put it, the 'public issues of social structure' with 'personal troubles'.

Research Methods		Iterative Reflection
Stage One	**Preliminary Study:** a questionnaire survey of a matched sample of Danish teachers to replicate existing PACE data, together with informal discussions with key informants to identify issues.	
Stage Two	**Policy Analysis** of selected documents in England and Denmark. **Key Informant** open-ended interviews: government officers, politicians, teacher educators, teacher union officials.	
Stage Three	**Case Studies** in England and Denmark; work-shadowing, fieldnotes, observation, head teacher and class teacher semi-structured interviews.	
Stage Four	**Teacher Reflective Diaries:** a self-administered log of hours worked each week, together with a record of critical incidents.	
State Five	**Stimulated Recall:** workload diary analysis, photographs, Danish teacher visits. Open-ended discussions with study teachers.	
Stage Six	**Key Informant** directed interviews to check interpretation and analysis.	

Figure 4.4 A Five-Year Schedule of Work

Chapter Five, which follows, is used to locate the study within its historical and cultural context and to analyse the significance of the current policy priorities of both governments. Documentary evidence, both past and present, has been used to understand the ideological origins and historical development of both education systems [see Sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5], the global, national and local influences on policy discourse and national policy-making [see Sections 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8] and, finally, the current structure and organization of compulsory schooling and class teacher responsibility in England and Denmark [see Section 5.9].

PART II

A PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTARY, SURVEY AND CASE STUDY DATA OF THE STUDY

'Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both.'
[C. Wright Mills 1970:9]

5. CHAPTER FIVE - AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES WHICH HAVE SHAPED THE STRUCTURE OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING IN ENGLAND AND DENMARK

5.1 Introduction

Comparative research into national education systems has had a long history of seeking to more fully understand the immediate, observable differences between national structures by looking at the historical and cultural 'forces and factors' from which they have sprung [Kandel 1933, Hans 1949, 1959]. In order to fully explore the case studies of the individual teachers, which follow in Chapters Eight and Nine, it was first necessary to set their experiences within their cultural and historical contexts. These were not only responsible for shaping the conditions and structures under which the teachers currently carried out their professional duties, but would also have influenced the formulation of their personal and professional values. Such an analysis would, therefore, help to focus on the intersection between the 'public' and the 'private', between structure and agency, illuminating and interpreting meaning for both the individual and society.

This section of the thesis uses a progressive analysis of documentary evidence to address these socio-cultural influences, first from an historical and ideological perspective, then from the point of view of national policy and, finally, through the current structures of both education systems. Reflecting Hedetoft [see Section 3.8], evidence has thus been gathered both vertically, by moving from the global to the personal, and horizontally through time, from past to present:

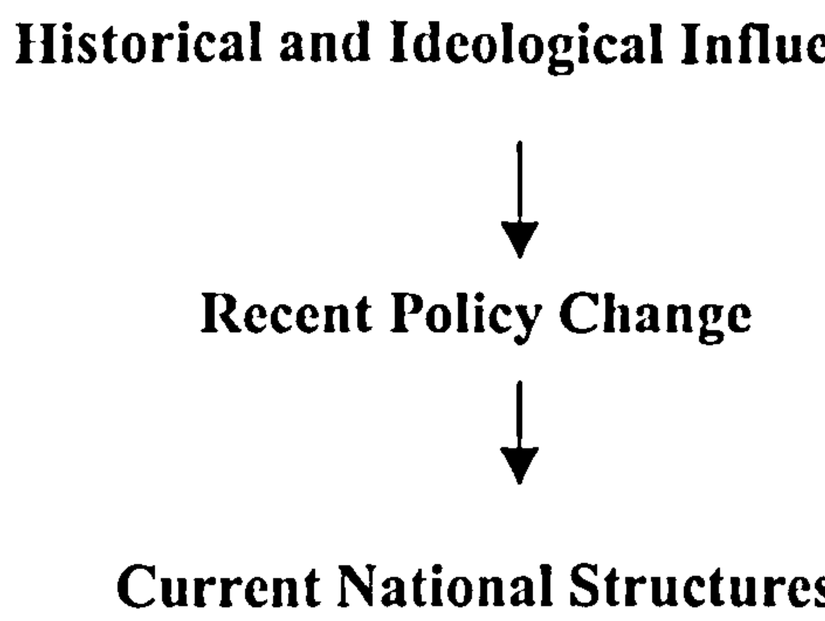


Figure 5.1 A Progressive Analysis of Two National Education Systems

The chapter begins by looking at both the common themes and significant differences, which can be traced through the historical development of the two countries and their developing education systems. It will then discuss the significance of these ideological differences as they continue to surface in the current national discourse and schooling structure.

5.2 An Analysis of the Historical and Ideological Influences of Two Ancient Kingdoms

In many ways, England and Denmark have a common northern European history. Both are countries with a relatively small land mass, mostly surrounded by water, and situated on the northwestern fringe of the European continent. They are both seafaring nations which, in the past, have had access to large empires which have brought with them wealth and influence. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, their fortunes began to diverge. England, at the heart of the British Empire, was emerging as a strong, international power at the forefront of the industrial revolution. Aided by a ready supply of natural resources, the country spawned a growing 'middle class' of businessmen and industrialists who greatly expanded a thriving economy, based on commerce and industry. At the same time, there was a

complementary migration of the 'working class' from an economy based on agriculture and the land, to the mines and factories of the towns and cities. The existing élite, meanwhile, continued to exercise their power within an expanding Empire.

In contrast, the early years of the nineteenth century were difficult times for the Danish people. The destruction of the Danish fleet in the Battle of Copenhagen during the Napoleonic Wars, the loss of Norway in 1814, and the annexation of the territory of Schleswig by Germany in the 1860s, had led to a period of national impoverishment and stagnation. With few natural resources to supply an industrial revolution of their own, the relatively well-to-do independent, peasant farmers who began to take over both economically and politically from the 'despairing' ruling élites [Bjerg 1991, Borrish 1999]. It was the relative weakness of the Danish bourgeoisie and the late industrialization of Denmark which enabled the peasant farmers to develop a 'consciousness of themselves as a class and understood themselves to be the real backbone of society' [Østergård 1993:213]. They succeeded in establishing an independent culture with education institutions of their own, which were greatly influenced by the writings of the philosopher and clergyman, N.F.S.Grundtvig [see Section 5.4]. This was in contrast to England where a deeply class-orientated society produced a tiered system of education, heavily influenced by a classical humanist approach to knowledge [see Section 3.5] and a *laissez faire* liberal approach to the involvement of the state [Shilling 1989, Green 1997].

5.3 The Development of Compulsory Education in England during the 19th and 20th Centuries

By the middle to late nineteenth century, schooling in England was provided by two parallel, but very different, systems. Independent, privately-funded preparatory

schools had been established for the children of the élite, as well as a growing middle class produced by an expanding industrial and trading economy. They took pupils – usually boys – from the age of about seven years. They were often residential in nature and led on to a similar system of secondary, 'public school'[1] education which was usually followed by university and work in the Church, the military, the civil service or industry. These schools were based on a classical humanist view of appropriate learning where character was elevated above intellect, and classics over science and technology. In other words, 'knowing what' was regarded as more important than 'knowing how' or 'knowing why' [see Section 3.5]. Leadership, honourable conduct and 'fair play' on the playing fields were among the characteristics nurtured to produced the 'gifted amateur', rather than the educated intellectual of the European tradition. The main aim of the system was to educate leaders to govern, protect and expand the British Empire, which was an influential political force, as well as a leading trading and industrial nation.

At the same time, various religious and charitable foundations began to provide 'elementary' education for the children of the poorer, working classes, which aimed to give them a basic, often Christian, education, enabling them to contribute positively to society by providing a literate and numerate workforce. Again, their curriculum drew heavily on a watered-down version of the classics, rather than establishing institutions which emphasised the scientific and technological, or the vocational [Green 1997]. There was also a strong element of social control for a growing population, which was seen by the élite ruling classes as a potential threat.

---

[1] In England, the term 'public school' refers to independent, élitist institutions, which usually charge high fees for the education of the wealthy and powerful in society.

However, by 1870, it became clear to the ruling Liberal Party, that the State needed to intervene and introduce legislation to formalise the existing idiosyncratic and piecemeal provision. The main objective of the Elementary Education Act [1870] was, therefore, to 'complete the present voluntary system, to fill up the gaps' [Sharp & Dunford, 1990], there being no intention to disturb the existing mix provided by various religious and philanthropic organisations. However, this was largely a recognition of the steadily increasing, if diverse, local provision [Archer, 1984] and had more to do with the provision of broad national policies and a framework for inspection, monitoring and assessment to ensure minimal standards of provision than the creation of equal entitlement [Broadfoot *et al.* 1993]. It endorsed a system of local agency rather than State control, by creating 'a national system, locally administered' and was largely informed by three influential reports: the Newcastle Report [1861], the Clarendon Report [1864] and the Taunton Report [1868].

The Newcastle Report looked into the provision of elementary education for the poor, and recommended that the State should extend its operations in this area but that there should be no interference with the denominational bodies and no central control over school management. It suggested that, as well as State capitation grants, there should be a local contribution through local rates. It endorsed the principle of inspection and recommended a 'payment by results' system of government funding [Revised Code 1862], but rejected the suggestion that education should be either free to all or compulsory.

The Clarendon Report was important because it described the value and contribution made by the country's nine 'public schools', which were funded and administered through private foundations. These schools were founded to educate the sons of the

powerful and wealthy, in strict and austere circumstances. Their main aim was the 'disciplining and strengthening of the mind', and they employed a largely classical curriculum, with little emphasis on the natural sciences. They were regarded by Clarendon as 'the chief nurseries of our statesmen' and were given a ringing commendation:

> It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most – for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercise.
>
> [quoted in Maclure 1979:87]

This description gives an insight into the type of cultured and 'gifted amateur' which these schools aimed to produce, not sullied with commercial or vocational knowledge but fit, healthy and able to be leaders within a powerful nation.

The Taunton Report complemented the two previous reports by looking at all forms of secondary education, excluding the nine public schools. It established the right of parents to withdraw pupils from religious instruction and rehearsed the arguments for and against an education system provided by the State – free to all who use it. It recommended that education should remain the responsibility of parents and that fees, however small, should be charged, recognising the stratified nature of English society:

> ...the experience of America, with its comparatively homogenous society, cannot be taken as a guide in dealing with the complex society of England; that English experience as far as it yet goes, is distinctly against gratuitous education, and that even in elementary schools it is found better to charge low fees than to admit the scholars free of all cost; that under present circumstances it seems more likely that people will learn the value of education by being perpetually urged to make the sacrifices necessary to procure it for their children.
>
> [quoted in Maclure, 1979:96]

It rejected the idea of central training for secondary teachers, preferring a system of registration and certification based on public examinations. It also recommended more inspection of schools and more examination of pupils.

Therefore, the 1870 Act steered a mid-line between secularism and Church control but, importantly, allowed for parents to withdraw their children from religious education. However, it did not relieve parents of the need to pay for education but created free places for those who could not. Many of the current tensions in education policy in England can be traced back to these largely unresolved issues: private versus state provision, 'free to all' versus fee paying, utilitarian versus personal development, and testing/inspection versus self-assessment. However, the economic imperative of education was already in place for the Act justified the need for schooling provision by stating that 'upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity.' (p.104).

By 1902 a second, more comprehensive education act aimed to unify the elementary and secondary systems, to remove the tension between voluntary schools and those provided by the School Boards and to address the issue of the provision of teachers. However, it was the 1944 *Education Act*, drawn up under a coalition government during World War II, which has probably had the most influence on the current structure of schools in England. This Act replaced the old arrangement of 'elementary' and 'higher' education with 'a continuous process conducted in three successive stages': primary, secondary and further education. It also removed the responsibility for education from individuals and gave it to the State by making the Minister of Education ultimately responsible for the education of the people of England and Wales, with the local education authorities required to carry out their part 'under his control and direction' [Maclure, 1979]. It also endorsed the earlier Norwood Report [1943] which recommended that pupils should be split into three 'rough groupings' and that these distinctions should be acknowledged and catered for in the provision of secondary education: pupils 'interested in learning for its own

sake'; pupils showing 'interests and abilities...in the field of applied science or applied art'; and pupils who deal 'more easily with concrete things than with ideas'. This approach fitted well with the prevailing psychological theories of learning, which saw intelligence as innate and predetermined at various, measurable levels and, later, gave rise to the tripartite system of grammar schools, technical schools [of which very few were established] and 'secondary modern' schools. It also confirmed the view of schooling as a sifting and sorting process, requiring primary schools to prepare pupils for selection at eleven plus for grammar, technical or secondary modern schools and, ultimately, for a future economic role.

During the 1960s and 70s, a more liberal and egalitarian view of the aims of education began to surface and an influential report, the Plowden Report [1967] *Children and Their Primary Schools*, expressed the prevailing conviction amongst educationalists that schools could and should help to overcome social problems if teachers were allowed to exercise their professional judgement in creating curricula more closely related to the needs and interests of the individual child [Becher & Maclure, 1978]. It argued strongly for a child-centred pedagogy which could inspire pupils of all abilities to reach their full potential. At the same time, many local education authorities put forward. plans to abolish the eleven plus examination which had been used for selection purposes at the end of the primary phase of education, in order to establish a fully comprehensive secondary phase open to all. Additional curriculum initiatives also began to break the stranglehold of the universities and the grammar schools, by creating a more child-centred view of pedagogy and assessment. However, this was not a universal movement and criticism soon surfaced [Cox & Dyson, 1969] from some sections of society concerned about the apparent movement away from

traditional curricula, pedagogy, discipline and assessment in favour of more teacher autonomy. An influential speech made by the then Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan [Ruskin Speech, 1976], initiated the 'Great Debate' on the future of education in England and Wales. This created a climate in which education and schooling were regarded as an appropriate issue for discussion in a wider forum than that inhabited by the educational professionals:

> The goals of our education, from nursery school through to adult education, are clear enough. They are to equip children to the best of their ability for a lively, constructive place in society and also to fit them to do a job of work. Not one or the other , but both.....There is no virtue in producing socially well-adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the skills. Nor at the other extreme must they be technically efficient robots.
>
> [Callaghan 1976:333]

This saw the beginnings of a more widespread struggle for control over the aims and purposes of education with central government taking a more assertive role in the making of education policy through the 1980s and 1990s. The tension between the mainly utilitarian aims of the original elementary, state schooling system and the more expansive personal development aims of the élite, private provision were again being thrown into sharp focus and the implications for the working lives of classroom teachers were to be far reaching.

5.4 The Development of Compulsory Education in Denmark during the 19th and 20th Centuries

The origins of the current Danish 'folk' school [*folkeskole*], which provides state-funded, primary education for children between the ages of seven and 16 years of age, can be traced back to the Peasant School Act [*Almueskolelov*] of 1814. This created the first universal, basic school provision for pupils between the ages of seven and 14 years. The Basic School complemented the Latin School, which was already in existence, and was soon joined by alternative provision in the cities [*Borgerskoler*]

and later by 'free' schools [*Frieskoler*], which were influenced by Grundtvigian ideals. N.F.S.Grundtvig, born in 1783, was a Christian poet, philosopher and clergyman who was concerned with the decline of the Danish self-image at the beginning of the 19th century. He emphasised the importance of mother-tongue and the *'living word'*, which was to be transferred by means of a dynamic, verbal relationship between teacher and pupil enabling an individual's everyday life to be seen in the context of an historical consciousness [Glynn Jones 1970, Friedenthal-Haase 1987, Østergård 1993]. This view of education as a resource to develop a people's sense of identity and enable them to take an active part in decision-making remains influential within Danish education policy. The Grundtvigian ideal of 'popular enlightenment' [*folkeoplysning*], which combines a liberal education with companionship and personal development through adult education in the Folk High Schools, continues to influence the structure and practice of all levels of schooling in Denmark today. In 1903, a further Education Act was passed which brought together the *almueskole* and the *Latin School* and provided a unified system of education by establishing the present day *folkeskole* and *gymnasium.* This established a common core of education for four or five years which was followed by an eleven plus examination, which was used to divide pupils into two separate streams: a four-year academic stream leading to the *gymnasium*, and a two-year practical stream preparing pupils for apprenticeship training. In 1933 the national clerical inspection of the school was abolished and replaced by a system of local county inspection, and in 1937 a new act was passed which aimed to improve the status of practical/non-academic courses. However, because of the dispersed nature of a largely agricultural population, these changes did not have a full effect in some areas until as late as 1958.

By 1958 the *folkeskole* and the *gymnasium* were fully established and the difference in provision between the city and the countryside had disappeared. There was a major building programme, creating new schools all over the country and, during the 1960s, it became the norm for all pupils to be taught together in mixed ability classes, entering school at seven years. Pupils also began to continue their schooling for an additional two years until they were 16-years-old. By 1972 the length of compulsory education was extended from seven to nine years and the 1975 Education Act formally established a system of nine years of basic education, with a voluntary pre-school class and an optional tenth year. Along with this, the *folkeskole* was given a new purpose, stressing democratic attitudes, the development of an enthusiasm for learning and close home-school co-operation. The previous streaming of children by attainment after Grade 7 [14 years] was abolished and replaced by setting for the older classes in subjects such as mathematics, foreign languages and physics. By this stage the separation of school and church was complete, though religious education remains a part of the curriculum. Independent 'free' schools [*frieskoler*] also continued to develop but, in contrast to England, they were financially supported by the State which contributed approximately 80 per cent of the running costs. This ensured a minimal fee structure and prevented them from becoming either socially or economically élitist. The purpose of the *frieskoler* was to allow for diversity and to provide the opportunity for an alternative form of education for those parents who sought a different religious, philosophical or pedagogical approach to the education of their children.

As in England, it is possible to identify different ideological tensions in the development of the Danish schooling system. However, the relative balance of these pressure groups differs. In England, the emphasis has been on a *laissez faire,* liberal

diversity in terms of types of schools and the content of curricula, perceiving society to be stratified and pre-determined in relation to economic and administrative contribution. The provision of schooling has been approached from a classical humanist perspective, aiming to sift and sort the population and provide an appropriate curriculum, first, in terms of social class and, later, intellectual ability. Whereas in Denmark, the influence of Grundtvig, together with the power of the farmers and the search for a national identity combined to temper the traditional European classical approach [see Section 3.5] with a widely held communitarism perspective which saw education in terms of a universal right, concerned with supporting and building communities. It also was less inclined to create hierarchies of learning where 'knowing what' had a higher status than 'knowing how' but to support the process of personal development through joint action. In contrast to England, the aims of citizen formation and social cohesion were at least as important as the aims of individual and collective economic advancement.

These influences are still apparent today in both the structure and organization of the schooling systems [see Sections 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11], as well as the role of the class teacher [see Sections 5.14 and 5.15]. But first, in Sections 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7, I will discuss these national discourses in relation to their European setting, differing approaches to policy-making, and the current priorities of the two national governments.

5.5 Different National Discourses within a Modern European Heritage

The compulsory education systems[2] of both England and Denmark, in line with other

[2] It should be noted that neither in England nor in Denmark is there a statutory compulsion for parents to send their children to school. Only that they should provide them with an equivalent education and a small minority in both countries choose to educate their children at home.

schooling systems across Europe, can be seen to have developed with three distinct but inter-related aims. First, there was the public and collective aim of ensuring social cohesion by acting as the major agencies for transmitting the traditions, values and norms necessary for continuation of the *status quo*. Secondly, there were the economic and political aims of selecting and preparing individuals for their future contribution to society, whether as a worker or as a leader and administrator. Finally, schools in partnership with the family aimed to promote individual, personal development. However, these aims can, and do, create tensions between the personal and the public. Referring back to the 'epistemolgical styles' of Nicholas [see Section 3.5], different nation states create policy which tries to find local solutions to the conflicting needs of the individual and society, informed by varying definitions of what can be regarded as useful knowledge. The balance between education as a 'public' and 'private' good can change over time and from culture to culture, their relative priority being determined by the differing underlying ideological assumptions of the policy-makers and practitioners, which though not immutable provide a resilient bedrock on which the present day systems have been built.

The most recent legislation which governs the provision of primary schooling in both England and Denmark, clearly endorses these competing aspirations, though the 1988 *Education Reform Act* in England conflates them into two short statements. Pupils are entitled to an education which:

> (a) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and
> (b) prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.
>
> [Source: 1988 Education Reform Act, p.1]

The 1993 Danish *Act of the Folkeskole,* on the other hand, is more explicit and

incorporates three clear statements which explain in more detail the three themes:

> The Folkeskole shall - in cooperation with the parents - further the pupils' acquisition of knowledge, skills, working methods and ways of expressing themselves and thus contribute to the all-round personal development of the individual pupil.
>
> The Folkeskole shall endeavour to create such opportunities for experience, industry and absorption that the pupils develop awareness, imagination and an urge to learn, so that they acquire confidence in their own possibilities and a background for forming independent judgements and for taking personal action.
>
> The Folkeskole shall familiarize the pupils with Danish culture and contribute to their understanding of other cultures and of man's interaction with nature. The school shall prepare the pupils for active participation, joint responsibility, rights and duties in a society based on freedom and democracy. The teaching of the school and its daily life must therefore build on intellectual freedom, equality and democracy.
>
> [Source: Extract from the 1992 Act on the Folkeskole, Ministry of Education, 1996]

Thus, the relationship between home and school, the central role of personal development and the practical application of democratic principles are more clearly defined.

However, the commonalities between the two systems in practice are also marked. Both aim to provide free, compulsory, comprehensive education for pupils for approximately ten of their formative years. Pupils begin formal schooling between five and seven years of age and continue until they reach 16 or 17 years of age, before moving on to the next stage of education. Both systems, in common with other European systems, initially provide instruction in the basic skills of literacy and numeracy and, later, help to prepare students for employment or the upper secondary stage of education. Both systems have a commitment to national cultural transmission, the needs of the economy and the social development of individuals.

Despite this largely common agenda, there remain significant differences in emphasis between the two national systems, which can be traced back to their historical and cultural roots examined earlier in the chapter. A closer analysis of current national discourses used to describe their education systems serves to underline the continuing

policy preoccupations of the different national governments, which underlie differences in the governance, administration and the organisation of teaching and learning, which are mediated through successive regional, local and individual school levels, and which have a significant effect on the classroom experience of pupils.

The English system, which grew out of a *laissez-faire*, liberal tradition, has in the past been associated with voluntarism and local autonomy, which has produced a uneven diversity which has been justified in an ideology supporting the differing needs and abilities of pupils, who required different types of schools. This diversity has been primarily concerned with 'fitness for purpose' rather than equity or entitlement, and an hierarchical meritocracy has been given preference over social cohesion. A classical humanist ideology [see Section 3.5] underpins the organizational structure of the different types of schools and different curricula for different types of pupils. Despite the development of a more child-centred approach to pedagogy at primary level, 'comprehensive' education at secondary level, and finally with the 1988 Act a national curriculum, policy documents still emphasise the differences between individuals and promote the needs of the economy:

> The basic principle underlying statutory (school) education is that it should provide a balanced and broadly based curriculum which is suitable to the child's age, ability, aptitude and to any special educational needs the child might have....The Department for Education and Employment's aim is: To support economic growth and improve the nation's competitiveness and quality of life by raising standards of educational achievement and skill and by promoting an efficient and flexible labour market.
>
> [Source: NFER/QCA INCA Database, 1998]

In Denmark, along with other Nordic countries, there have been different ideological influences. A strong tradition of communitarianism has placed more emphasis on a powerful 'folk' tradition of local democracy and social partnership. It has traditionally seen education as a home and community enterprise in which

individual schools are relatively independent but highly integrated with, and accountable to, the local community. This has combined a more inclusive approach to the curriculum and school organisation which continues to focus on the personal development of individuals and the need for co-operative learning:

> As far as compulsory education is concerned, the general objective is to give the individual pupil the opportunity to develop as many of his/her talents as possible... The focus is on the development of personal qualifications: independence, independent thought, ability to co-operate and communicate, and a desire for learning throughout one's life span.
>
> [Source: NFER/QCA, INCA Database, June 1998]

Before analyzing the effects of policy change over the last decade on both schooling systems, it is first necessary to discuss the global context of these changes and the different approaches which the two political systems have to the creation and implementation of policy.

5.5.1 Contrasting Approaches to Educational Policy-making in the Late 20th Century

In common with education systems around the world, this has been a period of increasing change as governments have come under pressure to ensure a literate, numerate and skilled workforce in order to remain economically competitive. Across Europe there has been a growing trend for governments to become more directly involved in the management and evaluation of national systems and this has begun to alter the balance of power and influence between central government, local authorities, parents and education professionals. To a large extent, these changes can thus be regarded as the result of global pressures which are impacting both socially and economically on all national systems. All developed economies are currently struggling with

common structural problems which include: changes in work patterns due to the emergence of new technologies; the effects of the liberalisation of markets for goods, capital and services; widespread youth unemployment; ageing populations, and shifts in social attitudes, particularly with regard to aspirations concerning educational attainment and qualifications [Green *et al.*1999]. As a result, a common core of six major educational aims can be identified in the current compulsory education systems of all fifteen European Union [EU] Member States [see Figure 5.2]. Though common, these aims are necessarily filtered through the cultural and political systems of each of the EU countries and resultant policy will, therefore, depend as much on the national political process as it does on the current situation experienced in each separate nation state.

To attempt to develop equality of opportunities
To offer as many young people as possible a sound basic education
To promote both change and social stability and integration
To prepare young people for all aspects of adult life: work/leisure, family/society
To motivate young people to learn and prepare for a changing world
To nurture the well-being of young people which they are in education

Source: adapted from EURYDICE [1997] by Green, Wolf & Leney, 1999

Figure 5.2 Six Common Aims of European Schooling

The Parliamentary system of 'first past the post' in England creates a political system which is adversarial in nature. The incumbent ruling party which forms a government will generally have an overall majority of Members of Parliament which means that, though issues are debated, the need for general consensus in order to enact policy is not so pressing as in other political systems. The 1944 *Education Act* was unusual in that it was drawn up during the turmoil of the 1939-45 War by a coalition government and was framed around a large degree of political consensus [Riley 1992]. It was

based on largely shared agreements about its ideological basis, and politicians, educationalists and church leaders all agreed that it should provide equal opportunities for all in an effort to reconstruct the social order and end the poverty and inequality of the 'two nations' alluded to by Disraeli a century before. However, it continued to support diversity and assumed that different children needed different forms of schooling, which were not considered to have parity. The 1988 *Education Reform Act*, in contrast, had no shared, cross-party political ideology, no seal of approval from church leaders, no consensus from the professionals – only anger at the speed with which it was introduced by the Conservative Party keen to apply 'market' ideology to the educational process. Gewirtz and Ozga [1990:37] referred to the, 'lack of consultation, or derisory gestures in this direction' as hallmarks of education policy making at this time. In fact, the extent to which the State has felt obliged to engage in the detailed formation of educational policy in England has been changing significantly over the second half of the twentieth century, as these three quotations help to illustrate:

> ...we do not plan education itself. Curricular, pedagogical and professional matters are, by a long tradition in this country, matters in which the State does not take control.....Town Halls and County Halls plan, and provide teachers to nurture the process of learning, in accordance with parents' wishes.
>
> [Sir William Pile, Permanent Secretary at the DES writing in the early 1970s, quoted by Riley, 1992]

> Is it really acceptable that in the vital matter of education hardly anyone can be sure about where responsibilities really lie? ....Above all, is it acceptable that the customers of the system, who find the bulk of the money, should be quite unable to judge these claims against each other because they too are not sure what our schools set out to achieve? We cannot continue with a system under which teachers decide what pupils should learn without reference to clear, nationally agreed objectives and without having to expose and, if necessary, justify their decisions to parents, employers and the public.
>
> [Kenneth Baker, Conservative Secretary of State for Education, 1986-89 quoted in Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993:120]

> Let me be brutally frank. We simply cannot justify such an exceptional investment unless it is tied to a significant return. It must be used to lever up standards and performance....I am determined that, as a government we will continue to make the hard choices necessary to give education the priority it deserves. But the new investment must, at every stage, be for modernisation and higher standards.
>
> [Tony Blair, Labour Prime Minister speaking at NAHT 1999 Annual Conference]

The marked change in approach from the 1970s to the 1990s has meant that education policy-making in England has now become a central issue which is directly linked to other social and economic policies. Education is no longer something which 'we do not plan', but has become something which must be tightly controlled by government in order that it should show a 'significant return'.

In contrast, perhaps the most striking feature of the Danish context is the joint role which teachers, parents, teacher trainers, pupils, local authorities and local communities continue to play in the development of a system of education policy-making where experimentation is encouraged and consensus is paramount. This democratic tradition is embedded in the very heart of Danish education policy-making and, as such, it is usual for the Danish Parliament [*Folketing*] to introduce legislation only after universal agreement, rather than a simple majority. This relies on a 'bottom-up' approach which encourages the formation of policy based on the evaluation of school-based projects, together with extensive debate and discussion with the four major bodies closely involved in education: the Ministry, the Association of Municipal Councils, the Teachers' Union and the Parents' Association [Bach & Christensen 1992]. This means that, by nature, changes tend to be evolutionary, consensual and slow by other national standards. Although the *Folketing* sets the general aims of the *folkeskole* and the Minister of Education sets the objectives for individual curriculum subjects, it is up to the Municipal Councils and individual School Boards to decide the detail of how these aims and objectives are to be achieved. It can be argued, therefore, that the control over policy is more widely distributed in Denmark than is currently the case in England. The following two

sections will discuss in more detail the context and aims of educational initiatives in both countries over the last ten years.

5.7 An Analysis of Education Policy Initiatives in England over the Last Decade

In 1988 a Conservative government, led by Margaret Thatcher, introduced the *Education Reform Act*. This was characterised by what has been referred to as 'the contradictory processes of decentralization and centralization' (Woods *et al.* 1997:2). It removed much of the power that had rested with local education authorities by drawing some of it into central government by way of a highly prescriptive national curriculum while, at the same time, devolving budgets directly to schools through the Local Management of Schools [LMS] initiative. National testing was established for pupils aged seven, eleven and 14 years, and these changes were further enhanced with a more rigorous system of inspection. The work of schools and teachers was examined on a regular basis by teams of government-accredited inspectors working for the Office for Standards in Education [OFSTED]. Boards of Governors were also established for all schools and these were given a statutory responsibility to ensure the quality of education provision and the school's compliance with the requirements of the national curriculum and national testing. The Boards were made up of elected, voluntary representatives who were drawn from parents, the local community and, to a lesser extent, the teachers. The changes also purported to give power to individual parents to choose the school they wanted for their child, through a system of 'open enrolment'. In an effort to provide parents with the necessary information to make these choices, the government controversially, and with opposition from head teachers and teachers, published league tables which listed schools according to their pupils' results is the national tests. The tables were, however, unable to capture the

complexity of different school contexts or catchment areas and have created competition between schools which has opened up the issue of selection by over-subscribed schools.

Despite some opposition in 1988, the majority of these policy changes were kept by an incoming New Labour government, in 1997. In the white paper, *Excellence in Schools* [DfEE 1997], the government undertook to put education at its 'heart' and called for a greater awareness across society of the importance of education, as well as increased expectations of what could be achieved. The paper went on to outline the following policy foci:

- Every child should get the basics of literacy and numeracy right early on through good teaching in early years education and primary schools, supported by smaller classes.
- All schools will be challenged to improve and must take responsibility for raising their own standards, using proven best practice with the right balance of pressure and support from central and local government.
- We must modernise comprehensive secondary education for the new century – recognising that different children move at different speeds and have different abilities.
- We must improve the quality of teaching through a new deal for teachers, with pressure to succeed matched by support for good teaching and leadership.
- Parents and local communities should be fully and effectively involved in the education of children.
- We must develop effective partnerships at local level to help schools work together towards the common goal of higher standards.

[*Excellence in Schools*, DfEE 1997]

More recent discussion papers [DfEE 1998, DfES 2001] have continued to emphasise the economic necessity of raising standards and ensuring accountability. Baseline assessment[3] was introduced for all five-year-olds entering the school system and further curriculum changes were put in place through the introduction of the Literacy and Numeracy Hours in all primary schools. This was later extended to the secondary sector, together with the establishment of a new curriculum subject, referred to as 'Citizenship'. In the interests of equity, Educational Action Zones were created to

[3] Baseline assessment refers to the requirement that all pupils be assessed on entry to formal schooling so that appropriate targets can be set and evidence of improvement gained.

work with local business interests and to target funding at those areas of most need. Encouragement was also given to all schools to develop areas of specialism in subjects such as sport, technology, modern languages and, later, mathematics & science. Changes linking teacher appraisal to pupil performance, together with national, school and individual target-setting all continued to put pressure on the outcome measures used to judge the quality of the education system. This emphasis on standards and accountability, together with a need to involve partnerships at a local level provide evidence of a neo-liberalist approach to policy making [see Section 3.6] which continues to support a differentiated provision in the interests of varying need.

5.8 An Analysis of Education Policy Initiatives in Denmark over the Last Decade

In Denmark, following the 1975 *Act of the Folkeskole*, there were continuing calls for more equality and, as a result, an overall plan for education into the 1990s [*U-90 Plan*] was produced. It recommended a twelve-year comprehensive school for all with a more 'socially relevant curriculum' and a more project-orientated and interdisciplinary pedagogical approach. However, the plan met with severe criticism in some quarters, which suggested that it would lead to a lowering of standards, and a change of government in 1982 led to a radical break with its ideas. This tension illustrates two competing views of the organization of education which have been a feature of educational policy making in Denmark over the last decade. On the one hand, there is a view that supports continuous, integrated courses stressing interdisciplinary teaching and porous discipline boundaries for the whole of the *folkeskole*. This encourages equality, late specialisation and the postponement of career choices. On the other hand there is a more market-orientated view which finds echoes in the policy debate in England and calls for less involvement by the state and

the introduction of a 'market' approach to provision. It encourages shorter courses with a vocational element, it favours strong subject boundaries and draws on Gundtvigian principles to emphasize history and national literature as the most important subjects for the personal development of pupils. In 1986, new principles were lain down which underpinned reforms in almost all sectors of education. These included, from a curriculum point of view, an emphasis on historical perspectives, the stressing of values and a reassessment of subjects to identify 'core fields'. The principles also encouraged parents to make choices by not necessarily sending their children to state schools. Central control over teaching methods and financial management was relaxed, and more user influence was encouraged through the introduction of a system of vouchers. Another change of government in 1992 meant a change in emphasis and the formulation of a new *Act of the Folkeskole*, prompted partly by concerns over quality as illustrated by international pupil attainment surveys [Hummeluhr 1998]. The new Act stressed interdisciplinary teaching, the inclusion of a more socially relevant curriculum, and the introduction of a final year 'project' that was to be assessed as part of their leaving certificate. Issues of equity also came to the fore and all forms of streaming and setting were abolished, even in the upper years of the *folkeskole*, and in its place there was an emphasis on the need for 'differentiated' teaching which would address the needs of each individual pupil.

There was also a recognition, at this time, that the unique role of the *klasselærer* was coming under increased pressure and funds were made available for development projects to investigate how the role should be reinforced and updated [Brandt Jensen *et al.* 1992]. More recently, the Danish government has set the following targets for education as a whole:

- That all young people complete a youth education programme
- That as many as possible [at least 90-95%] of an age group complete a qualifying education programme.
- That recurrent education becomes a natural part of people's lives and their participation in social life.
- That the education system is flexible and develops steadily in step with society so that it can continue to ensure the vocational and personal qualifications which are needed in a modern high-technological society based on democratic principles.

[Danish Ministry of Education web page, May 1998]

These policy aims provide evidence of a more inclusive approach to the provision of schooling and a more open approach to the development of flexible curricula, which has been aided and supported by a pluaralist approach to the creation of policy [see Section 3.6].

The following sections analyze the way in which the differing ideological positions outlined in Section 5.5, and approaches to policy-making outlined in Sections 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 have impacted on the current schooling structures.

5.9 The Current Structure of Compulsory Schooling in England and Denmark

Most European education systems, in common with the systems of developed countries around the world, provide a compulsory core of schooling for all children between the ages of approximately five and sixteen years of age. In England, as well as Denmark, parents are required to ensure that their children receive a suitable level of instruction either within the formal schooling system or elsewhere. In both countries, a small minority of parents choose to educate their children at home. A larger percentage, approximately 7% in England and 12% in Denmark [NFER/QCA, INCA Database 1998], choose to send their children to private schools which have some freedom to decide on curricula and approaches to teaching. [Attention must, however, be drawn to the different influences and social consequences of the two

private systems, see Sections 5.3 and 5.4] However, the great majority in both countries choose to send their children to the state-funded schools close to where they live.

Unlike most systems within Europe, including the English system, the Danish system does not differentiate between 'primary' education for those children between the ages of approximately five and eleven years, and 'lower secondary' education for those children between the ages of approximately twelve and sixteen years. The *folkeskole* takes children for the whole of their compulsory education years – from seven to sixteen years. Appendices VI and VII illustrate the major features of the two schooling systems. Along with these major differences in structure, there are also differences in the organization and management of both teachers and pupils, which will be further explored in the following sections which discuss the primary school in England and its equivalent in Denmark, the *folkeskole*.

5.9(i) The English Primary School

Compulsory schooling in England is usually split into two main levels: primary schools for pupils between the ages of five and eleven years, and secondary comprehensive schools for pupils between the ages of 12 and 16 or 18 years. However, remnants of the earlier tripartite system still exist in some areas. Primary schools may be further split into separate Infant [4-7 years] and Junior [8-11 years] sections, and there are a smaller number of middle schools which cross the primary/secondary divide by taking children from approximately eight or nine years to twelve or thirteen years. The majority of schools are state-funded, non-selective and comprehensive in nature, taking pupils of all abilities and offering them a 'broad and balanced curriculum'. However, although comprehensive in name, many state

schools continue to group pupils by attainment for some subjects. This is referred to as 'setting'. Although pupil age has traditionally been an important criterion for pupil organization within the English system, it was only with the 1988 Education Act that the terms 'Year 1' to 'Year 13' were used through the system to emphasize the continuous and progressive nature of schooling. At the same time, the concept of 'levels of achievement' was introduced and formalised into 'key stages' which correspond to the points at which pupils are subject to external, national assessment. Within the primary sector there are two key stages: Key Stage 1 for five to seven-year-olds, and Key Stage 2 for eight to eleven-year-olds. The average primary school, which takes pupils from the ages of four to eleven, has about 200 pupils divided into classes of approximately twenty-eight to thirty-two, arranged by chronological age. The school is managed by a head teacher, who is supported by a governing body which has legal responsibility to ensure that the school complies with national standards. The governing body is largely made up of parents who give their time and expertise on a voluntary basis. It also includes other representatives from the local authority, the local community and the staff of the school. Independent schools, although they must be registered with the Department for Education and Skills [DfES], are not subject to the same regulations with regard to the national curriculum and testing. They are also not required to employ teachers who have gained the state-sponsored Qualified Teacher Status [QTS], though the majority of them do. They are, however, subject to school inspections and the results of these are made public. When pupils have completed their primary schooling the majority will continue, without selection, to the nearest state comprehensive secondary school. Others may sit competitive examinations either to gain entrance to academically-orientated

'grammar' schools, or to the prestigious independent secondary schools, which charge fees.

5.9(ii) The Danish Folkeskole

Primary and lower secondary education in Denmark is contained within one system: the *folkeskole.* It provides nine years of comprehensive education, together with a voluntary pre-school class and optional tenth year, and each caters for approximately 400 to 500 pupils. The municipal *folkeskole* provides free, non-selective, basic education to children between the ages of six and seventeen, though there can be some variation with some schools taking pupils only until Grade 7 [14 years]. Pupils are divided into grades by age, and, as in England, progression from one grade to another is automatic. Groups of between fifteen and twenty children are divided into separate groups [*klasser*] which each have a class teacher [*klasselærer*] who may be responsible for the same group of pupils for the whole of their primary and lower secondary schooling. During the last two decades, parents and pupils have become increasingly involved in the management of individual schools through School Boards, similar to English governing bodies, as well as less formal school councils. The management structure within the *folkeskole* is typically flatter and more democratic than that in English primary schools where there are often several layers of responsibility directed by a head teacher who is required to be more autocratic in nature. The 'charismatic' head teacher typical of strong leadership in England is replaced by a more democratic process in which the head teacher needs to ensure consensus to enable change to take place.

In the same way that there is a requirement on English schools to conduct an act of daily worship which should be mainly Christian in nature, there is a requirement on

Danish schools to include religious education in the curriculum. As in England, parents may withdraw their children from such lessons if they agree to personally assume the responsibility for the child's religious instruction.

In Denmark, pupil assessment is continuous and formative and does not include individual pupil marks until Grade 7 [fourteen years]. From Grades 8 to 10 proficiency marks, which are statements of achievement level and ability rather than percentage totals, must be given to pupils at least twice a year and discussed at the pupil-parent-teacher meetings. The final set of proficiency marks are given immediately before the national written examinations which may be taken by pupils prior to leaving the *folkeskole.* On completion of the ninth Grade, pupils can present themselves for the *Leaving Examination of the Folkeskole* in each of the subjects of Danish, mathematics, English, German and physics/chemistry. On completion of the optional tenth grade, pupils can present themselves for examination in each of the above subjects for either the Leaving Examination or the Advanced Leaving Examinination. An obligatory project assignment has now been added for pupils in Grades 9 and 10 for which assessment is given in the form of a written statement, as well as a final mark if the pupil asks for it. Since 1975 the *folkeskole* has issued a Leaving Certificate to pupils based on the results of the Leaving Examination [or the Advanced Leaving Examination] which also contains information on their educational activities and their most recent proficiency marks. It may also include a written statement and/or mark for the final project assignment if the pupil wishes.

Progress to the next level of education is by mutual agreement between pupils, parents and teachers and can be either academically-orientated [*gymnasium*] where pupils are

prepared for the national *studentereksamen,* or vocationally orientated. These programmes usually last approximately three years but they can vary between two and four years. Having completed their upper secondary or youth education, pupils can either enter the workforce directly or continue into Higher Education.

Denmark has a tradition of private schools [*frieskoler*], as mentioned earlier [Section 5.4], which receive substantial government funding regardless of the ideological, religious, political or ethnic motivation behind their establishment. They are generally smaller than state schools and charge minimal fees, but must not be owned by a private individual or run for private profit. The legislation which governs them contains detailed rules concerning financial support from the government, but only the most general rules about educational content, though they are required to prepare pupils for a common national examination. There are no rules about the Ministry of Education's control over educational performance, though the schools can approach the Ministry for advice, which can take special action, if required. It is the parents of each private school who must check that its performance measures up to the demands of the state schools.

5.9(iii) The Education of Teachers for the English Primary School

Within the English system there are two major routes into primary school teaching: the concurrent, four-year undergraduate course which includes both an initial Bachelor Degree and Qualified Teacher Status [Bachelor of Education (QTS)], and a one-year postgraduate course [Post Graduate Certificate of Education, PGCE], which consists almost entirely of professional preparation. Since the mid 1970s university departments have taken responsibility for teacher education and students, in addition to their professional studies in subjects across the whole of the primary curriculum,

have been required to specialize in one main subject area which they study to degree level. Entry to the undergraduate route is normally at 18 years, after students have completed their Advanced Level examinations at school, whereas entry to the postgraduate route is normally after the student has successfully completed an initial bachelor degree. All candidates must show evidence of an acceptable level of attainment in English, mathematics and science, and it is usual for all candidates to be interviewed by teacher educators and experienced serving teachers before they can be accepted onto a recognised course. This reflects the view that the profession relies not only on academic abilities, but on a combination of academic and personal qualities which allow prospective teachers to develop appropriate relationships with their pupils in order to facilitate learning. Since the mid-1990s there has been an increased amount of school-based, teaching practice and extra efforts to widen participation through the introduction of some entirely school-based courses for older students. With the establishment of the Teacher Training Agency [TTA] in 1995, a national curriculum for teaching training, together with a checklist of exit competencies for newly qualified teachers has also been introduced.

5.9(iv) The Education of Teachers for the Danish *Folkeskole*

In Denmark, teachers for the *folkeskole* system are educated in independent colleges of teacher education [*lærerseminarium*] which are separate from the university system, though confer a qualification which is equivalent in scope and level to a bachelor degree in England. As in England, there is a national curriculum for teacher training though, unlike in England, individual colleges may choose to focus on particular areas of strength. Courses last for four years and include a total of 24 weeks of school-based teaching practice. Until recently, student teachers went into

schools in small groups to work together under the supervision of a qualified teacher. They were not expected, as they would be in England to take full responsibility for a class of children before they were fully qualified. As well as a common core of subjects providing students with a broad professional competence, students must also study a total of four other school curriculum subjects[4]; either Danish or mathematics plus three others chosen from a spread of disciplines. In theory, a teacher's certificate qualifies the graduate teacher to teach all subjects to all grades in the *folkeskole* [Grades 1 to 10] but, in fact, the teacher is generally considered competent to teach only those subjects which they have studied, especially with regard to the older pupils. In practice, the authorities responsible for the appointment of teachers will take the final decision about competence: the municipal school councils, the school board and the headteacher. In recruiting potential students for teaching, there is an emphasis on a broad personal education, including time travelling abroad, working with children, or other forms or work experience. Such activities are encouraged before a teaching course is embarked on.

5.9(v) The Role of the English Primary Class Teacher

In England, the role of the class teacher in primary schools is still that of the generalist who teaches a particular group of children, usually for one year, most or all of their national curriculum subjects. The class teacher also provides pastoral care for her/his class and is a principle point of contact with parents and other external agencies. It is usual for pupils to move on each year to be the responsibility of a different class teacher, though in some smaller schools pupils do work in mixed age

---

[4] This has recently been increased from two subjects, to increase the breadth of teacher subject knowledge and counter criticism that some *folkeskole* teachers were called on to teach subjects that they had not been fully prepared for.

groups. Individual class teachers are required to ensure that their pupils cover the required national curriculum content for their age and to keep detailed records of their progress through the various 'levels' of achievement. In Years 2 and 6, class teachers are also required to prepare pupils for their national key stage tests. In addition, almost all class teachers carry school wide responsibility as 'subject co-ordinators' for one or more of the curriculum subjects. This involves taking a central role in the planning of the teaching of a particular subject, as well as monitoring the quality of the subject teaching and mentoring colleagues. Teachers are allowed limited amounts of 'non-contact' time to fulfil this role in order to spend time away from their teaching responsibilities. A teacher's contract requires that they are available for 195 days per year, including five training days when pupils do not attend school. This includes a maximum of 1265 hours of 'directed time' each year and this, for primary teachers in England, is almost exclusively used to teach their class. All other work such as marking books, preparing lessons, subject co-ordination, liaising with parents, attending meetings is in addition to this:

> Such a teacher shall, in addition to the requirements set out in paragraphs 59.2 and 59.3, work such additional hours as may be needed to enable him to discharge effectively his professional duties, including, in particular, the marking of pupils' work, the writing of reports on pupils and the preparation of lessons, teaching material and teaching programmes. The amount of time required for this purpose beyond the 1265 hours referred to in paragraph 59.3 and the times outside the 1265 specified hours at which duties shall be performed shall not be defined by the employer but shall depend upon the work needed to discharge the teacher's duties.
>
> [DfES 2000, School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document: para. 59.7]

This illustrates not only the very open-ended nature of the job but also the open-ended nature of the teacher's contract with regard to how long it should take them to discharge all their duties.

5.9(vi) The Role of the Danish *Klasselærer*

The situation in Denmark is significantly different. The principle of the Danish *klasselærer*, who has the major responsibility for a single group of pupils for the whole of their primary schooling, has been an established feature of Danish schooling since 1870 [Harrit *et al.* 1992]. Although trained as generalists able to teach all subjects, from the first to the tenth grade in the *folkeskole* (seven to sixteen years of age), in practice most teachers have the additional role of *klasselærer*. They work with a small group of colleagues to provide for a single group of pupils, often for the whole of their time at the *folkeskole*. As well as having a responsibility to teach their *klasse* several of their academic subjects, the *klasselærer* also has a clear pastoral responsibility, which includes creating a group unity within the class and liasing closely and regularly with the parents of their pupils. There is a general, organizing principle within the *folkeskoler* that children in the first five or six years of their education should be taught by as few teachers as possible and that this tightly knit team should be led and managed by the *klasselærer*. During the weekly 'hour of the class' [*klassens time*], either as a separate, timetabled period or integrated into other lessons, the *klasselærer* is also able to build up close relationships with their pupils and investigate issues of concern to them. In this way, each pupil group in Denmark has a teacher that has a long-term additional role as counsellor, encouraging maximum contact between the family and the school. Pupils and parents can relate to a stable figure that is entirely responsible for the class's social welfare. Class teachers are always the parents' primary contact with the school and they are required by law to inform parents twice yearly about all aspects of the child's life at school. These meetings are usually carried out with the children present and attendance amongst parents is almost one hundred per cent [Bach & Christensen, 1992]. Typically, most

teachers also spend some of their time teaching additional subjects to pupils in classes throughout the age range, as part of other class teams, which helps to integrate the different classes within the school. Danish teachers, in common with other workers, are contracted to work 1924 hours *per annum*, less six weeks holiday, which reduces the contractual hours to 1680. In contrast to the situation in England, however, this includes allowances for preparation time, planning, attending meetings and, in the case of the *klasselærer*, time for carrying out their responsibilities associated with the pastoral care of their pupils.

Here again, then, we can see a contrast. In the main, the primary teacher in England is seen as a generalist who is responsible for a class of pupils for one year only. Within that year they are solely responsible for all their curriculum needs, as well as their personal development and well-being. The phrase *in loco parentis* is used to convey the idea of a relationship based on that of a good-natured parent. In Denmark, however, the role is considered to be one which in complementary to, rather than replacing, that of the parents. The close and on-going relationship, with a relatively small group of pupils, is intended to endorse the view of the *klasselærer* as a significant 'other', able to empathize with the children and induct them into a democratic process, which would be difficult in the home situation. Despite their important role in relation to the children social welfare and communication with their parents, they do not work in isolation, but co-ordinate a small group of teachers who work together to cover the curriculum. Indeed this principle is being further extended by growing support for this key role to be carried out, wherever possible, by two teachers working in partnership: ideally, one female and one male. This is for two main reasons which have been prompted by societal change and a commitment to the importance of the affective in the learning process. The first recognises the

increased incidence of family break-up and seeks to add stability to the role by encouraging an on-going relationship between the class group and two individuals who between them can act as instructors, consellors and, importantly, role models for both girls and boys. The second recognises the increasing complexity of this extended role and the difficulty one individual has in coping with increased expectations [see Figure 9.1]. These issues will be explored in more detail in Chapters Nine, where the case study data are examined.

5.9(vii)Differences in the Approach to Evaluation

Another major difference in the experience of class teachers within the two systems is that of inspection. In England, since 1992, the compulsory schooling system has been monitored and evaluated by teams of inspectors accredited by the Office for Standards in Education [OFSTED]. Full inspections take place every four to six years and, following an inspection, schools are expected to produce a development plan to show how they will improve those areas which may have been found to be less than adequate. Evidence has shown that such inspections can be very stressful for the teachers involved [Osborn *et al.* 2000] and that a great deal of work is required to comply with the demands for corroborating paperwork. OFSTED has also introduced the concept of 'failing' schools and 'failing' teachers in an evaluative environment which can be less supportive than that of the previous system of inspection.

In contrast, there is no national school inspection service in Denmark, but schools are encouraged and supported in their own self-assessment. More recently, concerns over quality have resulted in the introduction of a new initiative for Quality Development within the Folkeskole [KIF] by the Ministry of Education [*Undervisnings*

Ministeriet]. Significantly, this is not an external inspection model but one which empowers individual municipalities, schools and teachers to take responsibility for their own evaluation and improvement. Materials have been placed on the Internet [www.gsk-kif.dk] which can be used, in a flexible way, to evaluate current progress and draw up criteria and objectives for action plans to aid improvement. In the words of the Ministry:

> The novelty about Quality Development in the Folkeskole is that it offers a total system of tools which can help 'give words to' the quality development in a very systematic and concrete way. The system furthermore makes it possible to present these in a written form which gives a good overall view which it is easy to pass on to others, if one should desire to do so.
>
> [*Undervisnings Ministeriet* 2000]

The emphasis is on self-assessment and there is a much less directive tone than in similar OFSTED documents, which also have the weight of law.

5.10 An Analysis of the Major Socio-cultural Differences

In summary then, although the two systems of schooling in England and Denmark have many commonalities, having sprung from similar European histories, they also display unique social and cultural differences which have had an impact on the development of compulsory schooling and the role of the class teacher. The first of these differences relates to the ideological and political roots which have informed the present day systems. Within England, a liberal reluctance for state involvement and a consequent reliance on voluntaristic and Church provision, both state-aided and private, have combined with classical humanist ideas to create an emphasis on segregation and a hierarchy of knowledge. A class structure, enhanced and entrenched by a powerful industrial revolution has focused the aims of education on individual and collective economic development at the expense of social cohesion. Independent boarding schools [public schools], established for the children of the aristocratic and wealthy classes, have historically down played intellectualism and

emphasised the development of a 'cultured' individual, with a strong 'character' and leadership qualities. At the same time, for the children of the working classes, a mixture of church and philanthropic organisations provided a basic 'elementary' education in order to produce a literate, numerate and willing workforce. These roots have left their mark on the present day system which, despite a commitment in the 1960s and 70s to comprehensive secondary schooling and a more flexible and relevant curriculum, continues to endorse a hierarchy of knowledge, early specialization and a socially divisive, differentiated provision.

Denmark, in contrast, lacking both Empire and natural resources, was strongly influenced by the communitarian leanings of its powerful agricultural base, and the need to rebuild its national 'character' through an investment in the development of social and cultural capital. The emphasis was on local control and a commitment to the education and personal development of the whole of the Danish population, regardless of rank or perceived intellectual capability. The central importance of co-operation was enhanced, not compromised, by the diversity of a private system, which allowed experimentation supported by state-funding and drew heavily upon the tradition of the educational philosopher N.F.S.Grundtwig [Bjerg *et al.* 1995]. An emphasis on community, citizen formation and social cohesion, combined with a commitment to a common core of learning for all children, continues to influence the structure and organization of Danish schools.

However, despite these ideological differences, documentary evidence from both countries suggests that both sets of policy makers have similar concerns and priorities. In both countries there is an over-riding need to improve pupil attainment in order to be economically competitive in an increasingly global and technologically complex

world. Concerns with equity, social cohesion and the need to involve parents and communities in the education of pupils are also evident in both policy agendas. However, there is also evidence to support the claim that the detail of policy in England has focused on a 'performance-based' pedagogic model rather than the more professionally autonomous 'competence-based' model more evident in Denmark. Drawing on Bernsteinian theory, Osborn *et al.* [2000] have typified the two models by describing them in the structural terms set out in Figure 5.3 below:

	A 'Competence Model'	**A 'Performance Model'**
Organizational form	Professional, with flat management structure. Control through self-regulation, socialization, and internalization of norms.	Mechanistic, with hierarchical structure and bureaucracy. Standardization for control and coordination.
Management style	Collegiate, with emphasis on proficiency, dialogue and consensus. Informality in relationships.	Managerial, with emphasis on efficiency and target-setting for results. Greater formality in relationships.
Teacher roles	Facilitators, with affective dimensions seen as intrinsic to the teaching role.	Instructors and evaluators, with emphasis on cognitive and managerial skills.
Teacher professionalism	Professional covenant based on trust, and commitment to education as a form of personal development. Confidence, sense of fulfilment and spontaneity in teaching.	Professionalism as the fulfilment of a contract to deliver education, which is seen as a commodity for individuals and a national necessity for economic growth. Less confidence, fulfilment and spontaneity in teaching.
Teacher accountability	Personal and 'moral', through a process of self-assessment.	External and contractual, backed by inspection.

[adapted from Osborn et al. 2000:236]

Figure 5.3 Contrasting 'competence' and 'performance' models of teachers' work

Using this typology recent reforms in England can be seen to have focused on 'performance' through the central regulation over curricula and assessment, and an increase in the prominence of external target-setting and evaluation. This has largely overturned a tradition of professional autonomy in matters of educational content and

pedagogy and established a *quasi*-market which defines education as a consumer service and created layers of management to ensure accountability. An ideological commitment to the opening up of public services, including education, to the mechanisms of the market in order to ensure 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness', together with a neo-liberal emphasis on free choice and the power of the individual, have combined to create a view of teacher professionalism which is based on contract rather than covenant and ensures accountability through a process of external inspection.

The Danish system, in contrast, continues to put a great deal of emphasis on local involvement and 'flat' management structures. The state continues to play a regulating and co-ordinating role and recent changes have both retained local power, within a national framework, and encouraged school democracy and the importance of student rights within education [Lauglo 1990, 1995]. A commitment to a common, non-selective, democratic form of school organization, based on the ideal of equal opportunities for all, assumes that democratic citizens are formed within a democratic environment through experience with others who are different from themselves [Bjerg *et al.* 1995]. The Danish system, therefore, emphasizes a 'competence-based' pedagogic model which values self-assessment and personal fulfilment, and continues to stress the importance of co-operative work and the affective dimension encapsulated in the close relationship between the *klasselærer* and one particular class of pupils.

5.11 Summary

As a result of a melding of historically-determined ideological differences and the development of current education policy, the schooling systems within England and

Denmark have several significant differences which influence the context in which the teachers work [see Table 5.1 below]. A combination of the differences in size, curriculum prescription, and pressure from external testing and evaluation suggests that teachers in Denmark experience higher levels of freedom and autonomy in relation to professional decision-making and a more flexible approach to pedagogy.

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES	ENGLISH PRIMARY SCHOOL	DANISH FOLKESKOLE
Age range of pupils	4-11 years	6-17 years
Typical school size	200-300 pupils	400-600 pupils
Typical class size	26-32 pupils	15-20 pupils
Teaching role	changing responsibility for different groups	on-going responsibility for single group
National curriculum	highly prescriptive	loose framework
Attainment grouping	some in upper years	none
Teacher assessment	formative & summative	mostly formative
External pupil testing	7 and 11 years	16 or 17 years
Evaluation of system	OFSTED	self-assessment

Table 5.1 Structural Differences in Primary Schooling in England and Denmark

A more equitable approach to the allocation of contractual hours in Danish society has helped to protect teachers from what has been referred to as the 'infamous' paragraph [NASUWT 1998] *Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document* which removes any overall limit in working time for teachers in England. The teachers' union goes on to say that it is the 'vehicle through which unlimited demands can be made upon teachers' [NASUWT 1998]. The teachers' contract in England also fails to address the issue of non-contact time, or time away from teaching in order to carry out other responsibilities, the demands of supply cover for absent colleagues, or any limitation on class size for older children. These differences together with the ability of the Danish teachers to stay with a relatively small group of pupils over an extended period of time [up to nine years] also suggests that Danish teachers work within a structure which enables them to find more time and space to cope with the demands

of the social and emotional needs of their pupils. Finally, a more inclusive management structure and approach to quality control in Danish schools supports a professional culture which can be characterized as being more self-confident and internally driven than that in England. In other words, the structures within which teachers in Denmark work enable them to use individual agency to create a more confident professional identity for themselves.

Chapter 6 takes up these themes in the analysis of the data collected in a preliminary questionnaire survey of Danish teacher attitudes and values in relation to their work, which was matched against previous data from the PACE project, collected from primary teachers in England.

6. CHAPTER SIX - A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF TEACHER ATTITUDES IN DENMARK

6.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the findings of a preliminary survey of primary teachers in Denmark with a similar survey of teachers' attitudes in England. Its purpose is to present evidence from a larger sample of teachers [128 in England, 48 in Denmark] in order to inform and extend the generalisability of the data collected in the subsequent case studies. A questionnaire was designed to replicate data collected as part of the PACE project [see Section 3.6], which was a large-scale, longitudinal project on which I worked as a researcher. Despite the gap of two years between the data collected as part of the PACE project and that collected in Denmark for the purposes of this study, some comparison can be claimed because the major change in legislation which impacted on teachers' work in Denmark happened at a later stage than that in England. The overall methodological approach to this study also ensured that key informants collaborated in the translation, distribution and analysis of the Danish questionnaire to minimize issues of conceptual and linguistic equivalence, as well as issues concerned with equivalence in sampling [Warwick & Osherson 1973]. As will be seen, although the analysis of the preliminary survey highlights a great deal of common understanding and shared values between the two sets of teachers in the two national contexts, it also begins to point to important differences which will be examined in more detail in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

6.2 A Research Focus on the Impact of Policy on Teachers' Work in England

In the wake of major policy change at the end of the 1980s, researchers in England began to investigate what was perceived as a growing dissatisfaction among teachers, who were being put under pressure to alter their methods of working and embrace a

new set of values and priorities [Acker 1995, 1999, Pollard *et al.*1994]. The 1988 *Education Reform Act* of England and Wales [see Section 5.7] had introduced, for the first time in recent history, a highly prescriptive national curriculum which was both detailed, subject-orientated and very content heavy. Primary teachers, for the first time since the demise of the eleven-plus examination during the 1960s, were also having to prepare pupils for external, key stage testing, which brought with it issues of categorization, labeling and failure, for both them and their pupils, running counter to their values of caring and nurturing [Nias 1989]. It also limited the space for creativity, spontaneity and experiential learning which primary teachers saw as fundamental to their role [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Croll 1996].

The Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience [PACE] Project was a major such study, funded in three parts by the Economic and Social Research Council. It traced the initial impact of the *Education Reform Act* of 1988 on primary schools from 1989 to 1997. As part of the PACE 1995 data collection, a postal questionnaire was used to collect the views of a representative sample of 128 teachers in 48 schools, in 8 local education authorities in England. It investigated their perceptions of professional responsibility, accountability and the effect of policy change on their work. The Project found support for the claim that primary teachers in England considered that the changes were having a detrimental effect on the quality of their work with children and that, as a consequence, their job satisfaction and morale was diminishing [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Osborn *et al.* 2000].

In contrast, an on-going teaching exchange with two Danish initial teacher education institutions, together with numerous visits to Danish *folkeskoler*, had left me with the impression that Danish teachers were not experiencing such feelings of

demoralization and low morale, despite similar national policy pressures and changing societal expectations [see Section 5.8]. In order to gather initial evidence to support this hypothesis, as well as to prepare for more detailed case study work, a questionnaire survey was conducted in 1997 in order to replicate data gathered for the PACE project.

6.3 Methodology for the Preliminary Survey

Using the PACE study questionnaire as the basis for discussion, meetings took place between myself and colleagues from a teacher education college in Denmark with a view to replicating the survey with a matched sample of teachers. Before a Danish translation could be made, it was first necessary to discuss the questions, and the assumptions which underlay them, in order to reach both a conceptual, as well as a linguistic, equivalence [Theisen & Adams 1990]. It was not only necessary to explore the different structure within which the two groups of teachers worked, as well as the different concepts of the 'class teacher', but also the way that the research project was approached. This process of contextualisation, prior to translation, proved to be a rich professional exercise enabling an exploration of the, often, quite subtle differences between the two systems. It was more than a simple exercise in translation, and constituted a crucial element in developing a methodology for collaborative, cross-cultural activities, which would be strengthened and elaborated during the case study work which was to follow. The resulting questionnaire [see Appendix VIII] not only mirrored the PACE questions, and fitted the Danish context, but was also constructed so that it could be analysed in two ways. The first part of the questionnaire lent itself to quantitative, computer analysis, enabling descriptive statistics to be produced using a software program called 'Merlin'. There was no need for prior translation. The

final question, however, was open-ended and designed to elicit a more detailed response from Danish teachers with regard to their perceptions of the qualities which make an 'outstanding primary teacher'. Their responses, made in Danish, were translated by a colleague at the teacher education college and matched with similar data from the original PACE study.

Great care was also taken in matching the two samples of schools. To replicate the PACE study it was necessary to have a socio-economic spread of experience, with some schools from disadvantaged city areas, others from more affluent suburbs and a proportion serving rural areas. This proved to be less straightforward in the more homogenous context of a largely 'middle class' Denmark where differentials in income levels are less extreme. Most schools served the community in which they were situated, and the social and economic differences between them were less marked than in England. However, it was possible to select schools which reflected these less extreme differences present within Danish society. The teachers chosen for the Danish sample were responsible for classes of children between the ages of eight and twelve years, to match with their colleagues from England. Fourteen state-maintained schools within a single municipality took part in the survey in an area of the country which could be regarded as broadly representative of the whole. The schools and teachers chosen had a close professional link with colleagues at the Danish teacher education institution and so issues of access and retrieval were less problematic than in a situation where the researchers were unknown. This closely matched the PACE Project schools which had agreed to support the project in an ongoing way and had relatively close relationships with the researchers involved. The result was a very high response rate in the case of England (95%), but a lower response from the Danish sample (65%). Danish colleagues explained that this

reflected a reluctance on the part of Danish teachers to co-operate with a project in which they had no direct input and no controls over the outcomes. This model of research did not fit well with their professional aspirations. Though the questionnaires contained an explanation of anonymity and the purpose to which the data would be put, Danish teachers proved protective of their independence and wary of possible government interference in their work. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 describe in more detail the sample which resulted.

Table 6.1 School sample: preliminary questionnaire survey

		English Sample* *Autumn 1995*	Danish Sample *Spring 1997*
Size of School	Under 200 pupils	37.3%	15.2%
	201-400 pupils	50.6%	19.6%
	+ 400 pupils	12.1%	65.2%
Location	rural	29.6%	29.2%
	Urban - disadvantaged	15.8%	12.5%
	suburban –advantaged	10.9%	38.5%
	suburban – mixed	43.7%	19.8%
		N= 48	*n*= 14

* These data were taken from the PACE Project which was funded through the ESRC

Danish schooling does not separate primary from lower secondary education and *folkeskoler* take pupils from six to sixteen, or seventeen, years of age [see Section 5.11]. As a result, the schools in the Danish sample were typical of their context, but considerably larger than was normal for English primary schools which only take pupils from four to eleven years of age [see Section 5.10]. Over sixty five per cent of the Danish sample had in excess of four hundred pupils. The different national contexts were also reflected in the location of the schools. The economic conditions which prevailed were less extreme in Danish society than that which existed in England. The difference in income between professional workers and those involved in manual work was much less pronounced than in England. As a result, the

difference between the number of schools situated in suburban areas with a majority of 'middle class' workers, as opposed to those suburban areas with a more mixed population were transposed in the two countries. However, the number of schools located in rural areas and the number designated as being in city areas, with higher levels of social and economic disadvantage including unemployment, were more closely matched in both countries.

The biographical details of the teachers involved in the sample also drew attention to some differences in the cultural contexts which are shown in Table 6.2 below:

Table 6.2 Teacher sample: preliminary questionnaire survey

		English Sample* *Autumn 1995*	Danish Sample *Spring 1997*
Gender	female	85.7%	79.2%
	male	14.3%	20.8%
Age	under 30 years	24.3%	7.3%
	31-45 years	47.1%	53.1%
	45+ years	28.6%	39.6%
Years of experience	0 - 5	18.6%	9.4%
	6 - 20	44.3%	54.2%
	20+	37.1%	36.4%
Length of service in current school	0 – 5 years	46.7%	21.4%
	6 – 10 years	29.5%	19.1%
	10+ years	23.8%	59.5%
No. of pupils in class	Less than 15	1.4%	17.8%
	15 – 20	5.7%	46.6%
	21 – 24	11.5%	28.8%
	25 – 29	50.0%	6.7%
	30+	31.4%	nil
		n=128	*n= 48*

* These data were taken from the PACE Project which was funded through the ESRC

The majority of teachers in both countries were female, though this was more marked in England than Denmark [England 85.7%, Denmark 79.2%]. Both countries showed

some concern with this imbalance and were actively trying to persuade more male students to take up teaching as a career. It was also evident that the age of the Danish sample was higher than that of the English sample. Almost forty per cent of the Danish teachers were over forty-five years, whereas just under twenty-nine per cent of the English sample were. Again, this reflected the situation in Denmark where individuals were encouraged to travel and try other occupations before completing their studies to become teachers. It is unusual in Denmark for students to move straight from school to teacher training. However, it was also a reflection of the fact that all teachers in the Danish sample were *klasselærer,* a post which is not automatically taken up by all newly qualified teachers.

This differs from the English situation where most teachers, on completion of their studies, would apply for a full-time post with class responsibility. In addition, there was some evidence from the PACE study [Pollard *et al.* 1994] that many of the older teachers in England had elected to take early retirement, as they had felt either unable or unwilling to accommodate the changes brought about by the 1988 Act. Issues of 'work intensification' and clashes of ideological outlook had also contributed to some teachers leaving their posts through ill health.

Table 6.2 also highlights a marked difference in the length of service teachers had had in their current schools. The proportion with less than five years' experience was much greater in England [England 46.7%, Denmark 21.4%], whereas this position was reversed for those with over ten years' experience in their current school [England 23.8%, Denmark 59.5%]. This suggests that staff stability is more marked in Denmark, which is supported by a relatively flat management structure in schools which discourages movement around the country to seek promotion, something that is

relatively common in England.

Finally, a major difference between the two samples was that of the number of pupils for whom the class teachers were responsible. Whereas over eighty-one per cent of teachers in the English sample had classes in excess of 25 pupils, only 6.7 per cent of teachers in the Danish sample had classes of this size. Unlike their colleagues in England, no teachers in the Danish sample had class numbers in excess of thirty.

6.4 An Analysis of the Findings

Having discussed issues concerned with the sample, both in terms of the teachers who took part in the two questionnaire surveys and the school contexts in which they worked, the second part of the chapter continues with an analysis of the findings. It seeks to compare the data from the preliminary survey in Denmark with that of the PACE project in England, in order to understand any similarities and differences between the two sets of teachers with regard to their attitudes to their work and their professional aspirations. It does this under five sub-sections: (i) teacher attitudes to professional accountability; (ii) the relative importance of different educational objectives; (iii) attributes which make an 'outstanding' class teacher; (iv) the perceived impact of policy on teaching relationships; and, finally, (v) reported levels of professional satisfaction. It was considered to be inappropriate to carry out tests of statistical significance on such a small sample that was, to a large extent, opportunistic. It is, therefore, recognised that such an analysis must be regarded as indicative only of what might be found in a larger sample or, indeed, the population as a whole, though such preliminary data proved useful in identifying issues and themes to be triangulated by means of the case study data.

6.4(i) Teacher Attitudes to Professional Accountability

In order to understand the attitudes and values which underlay their approach to work, teachers in the Danish sample were asked to indicate the level of accountability they felt to various groups. There was a very close relationship between the attitudes of Danish teachers and that of their colleagues in England, as Table 6.3 shows.

Table 6.3 - Professional Accountability - Percentage of teachers indicating that they felt '*very accountable*' to the following groups:

	England* *Autumn 1995*	Denmark *Spring 1997*
To yourself	88.2%	75.0%
To your pupils	79.8%	85.4%
To the parents of your pupils	51.3%	56.3%
To your head teacher	49.6%	20.8%
To your colleagues	36.1%	41.7%
To the school governors	18.5%	8.3%
To society in general	16.8%	8.3%
To inspectors/advisers	16.8%	2.1%
To future employers	16.0%	2.1%
To the government	3.4%	2.1%
	n= 128	*n= 48*

* These data were taken from the PACE Project which was funded through the ESRC

These data indicated an agreement between teachers in England and Denmark that their role involved commitment to a personal value system, in other words a high degree of investment of 'self'. A very large proportion of both samples considered themselves to be '*very accountable*' to both themselves and their pupils for the quality of their work. The highest percentage [88.2%] was for teachers in England towards themselves. Whereas, in Denmark the emphasis was on their pupils [85.4%]. The closer contact of Danish *klasselærer* with their pupils' parents also seemed to be borne out by the higher proportion who felt '*very accountable'* to them in Denmark [England 51.3%, Denmark 56.3%]. The differences which the two sets of teachers felt towards their head teachers [England 49.6%, Denmark 20.8%] and colleagues

[England 36.1%, Denmark 41.7%], also reflected structural and cultural differences within the two systems. The 'charismatic' head of the English primary school was less prevalent in the Danish context where a flat management structure allowed for a more collegial approach.

The most striking feature of these data is perhaps the extent to which English teachers felt '*very accountable*' to a greater range of external interest groups than their Danish colleagues. The contrast between the samples possibly related to a more pronounced teacher autonomy which continued to be the case in Danish schools, in contrast to England where it had been somewhat eroded by external constraints. In addition, the way in which Standard Assessment Task/Test [SAT] results had provided a measure of teacher effectiveness in England did not exist in Denmark where there was no formal testing of this kind for younger children. Evidence from informal interviews with Danish colleagues also suggested that there was a much more supportive social context within Danish society with a clearer agreement amongst parents, teachers and the government as to the purpose of schools. The media appeared to take a more benign interest in educational affairs and Danish teachers, for the most part, did not have to accommodate the 'discourse of derision' referred to by Ball [1990]. The need for teachers to justify their practice to the wider society was not as significant in Denmark as it appeared to be in England, and the need for educational objectives to be synonymous with economic objectives was not so pressing.

6.4(ii) The Relative Importance of Different Educational Objectives

Table 6.4 represents the views of teachers on the relative importance of various educational objectives. The teachers were asked to rank the objectives against a 6-point scale, where 5 was '*essential*' and 0 was *'not relevant to primary education'*.

When the scores were aggregated, each objective was given a mean score relating to the relative importance given to each by the teachers. Although in the questionnaire the objectives were listed randomly, in the analysis, the educational objectives have been grouped to provide a focus for more general comments about broad educational intentions in the two countries. Again, there was a great deal of similarity between the responses of both groups of teachers.

Table 6.4 – Educational Objectives for Primary Education [mean scores]

	England* 1995 [*n=120*]	**Denmark 1997** [*n=48*]
School work focus		
Develop basic skills/ knowledge	4.80	4.65
Develop the child's capacity to think	4.56	4.48
Arouse an interest in learning	4.56	4.58
Develop the child's ability to organise work	4.06	4.02
Develop the child's ability to speak clearly and fluently	3.85	3.23
Develop child's ability to produce neat/presentable work	3.59	3.38
Maximise the achievement of attainment targets	3.54	3.96
Moral and social focus		
Foster the child's moral and social development	4.49	4.58
Develop child's kindness and consideration for others	4.42	4.29
Develop child's respect for his/her own and others' property	4.38	3.92
Develop child's ability to work cooperatively	4.35	4.50
Develop child's capability for hard work and effort	3.95	3.25
Child-centred focus		
Develop the child's full potential	4.85	4.48
Child should be happy and well-balanced	4.61	4.54
Develop the child's self-confidence	4.56	4.71
Enable child to enjoy school	4.37	4.59
Allow for the child to be an individual, developing in his/her own way	4.26	3.86
Society/work focus		
Equip the child to take a place effectively in society	4.51	3.48
Develop sense of obedience to parents, teachers and all reasonable authority	3.99	2.94
Prepare the pupil for an occupational role in society	3.05	2.96

* These data were taken from the PACE Project which was funded through the ESRC

Teachers in both samples saw their major role as developing basic skills and knowledge. A majority in the samples also considered that they had a responsibility to *'foster the child's moral and social development'*. This being especially the case in Denmark [4.58]. However, teachers in Denmark considered themselves less involved

in enabling children to *'take place effectively in society'*, (England 4.51, Denmark 3.48) which could be the consequence of the more collaborative social context within which the Danish teachers worked, and the higher profile given to the role of parents. They were not singled out as having a principal responsibility for economic and social problems and there was also a much stronger tradition of collaboration and trust between the different phases of education in Denmark and a commitment to continuing personal development. This was supported by the difference related to the perceived role of primary teachers in relation to the future working life of their pupils [England 3.05, Denmark 2.96]. Issues to do with the place of education in the preparation of pupils for the world of work have become more pressing in England since debate was opened up by a speech at Ruskin College by James Callaghan, the incumbent Prime Minister [Callaghan 1976].

An interesting difference related to the importance, as perceived by the teachers, of enabling as many children as possible to achieve the prescribed *'attainment targets'*, (England 3.54, Denmark 3.96). Such targets in England were very detailed and related, directly, to a highly prescribed national curriculum. The situation in Denmark gave more autonomy to the teacher where there was no formal testing of children's knowledge at 'primary' level and the content of the Danish national curriculum, covering all thirty possible subjects (compulsory and optional), was contained in an A5 booklet, a mere eighty pages in length [Denmark,1996b], which was in start contrast to the ten ring binders of curriculum information which had been supplied to schools in England.

When the five highest scoring and five lowest scoring educational objectives for each of the countries were highlighted [see Table 6.5] it was clear that there was a great

deal of overlap between the aspirations of both sets of teachers. However, it was also clear that culture, as expressed through education policy, had also produced some significant differences, such as the greater emphasis by the Danish teachers on '*moral and social development*' and the need for children to *'enjoy'* school. Agreement is more marked for both sets of teachers in the educational objectives which scored least highly. The opposition which many teachers in England had for the highly prescriptive national curriculum and its associated attainment targets [Pollard *et al.* 1994] was expressed through their lack of support for the objective of '*maximizing the achievement of attainment targets'*. On the other hand, the relative lack of support for the teachers in Denmark for the educational objective of '*developing a sense of obedience to parents, teachers and all reasonable responsibility'* could be regarded as an expression of a more communitarian and democratic approach to schooling, in which parents and teachers were encouraged to be partners in the education of children.

Table 6.5 - The five highest and five lowest scoring educational objectives

England	Denmark
1. Develop child's full potential	Develop child's self-confidence
2. Develop basic skills	Develop basic skills
3. Capacity to think	Child should enjoy school
4. Arouse interest in learning	Moral and social development
5. Take place effectively in society	Arouse interest in learning
18.Hard work & effort	Neat & presentable work
19.Speak clearly and fluently	Hard work & effort
20.Neat & presentable work	Speak clearly and fluently
21.Reach attainment targets	Fit for occupational role
22.Fit for occupational role	Obedient to parents & authority

These data also suggested more coherence in Denmark between the educational objectives expressed in policy and those supported by individual teachers [Denmark 1996a]. This was less clear for teachers in England where the statutory requirements

contained in the 1988 *Education Reform Act*, as well as discussion in the more recent White Paper *'Excellence in Schools'*, made little mention of the more generalised affective objectives of teaching which were prominent in their responses [Great Britain 1988, DfEE 1997].

6.4(iii) Attributes of an 'Outstanding' Class Teacher

In order to further explore the impact of national context on the construction of 'professional identity', the Danish teachers were asked to write a sentence about what they considered to be the attributes of a 'outstanding' class teacher. This mirrored the same question which had been asked of PACE teachers in interview, and sought to draw out the underlying values which teachers in the two countries drew on in constructing their professional identities. The results showed an interesting difference. Although teachers in both countries talked in very similar terms about a wide spread of personal and professional attributes which were necessary for teachers to be *'good'* at their work, there were differences in discourse and emphasis. The interview data collected from teachers in the PACE sample had been analysed using five broad categories. Each individual answer could be coded several times, depending on the various attributes which the teacher saw as significant. Thus, the following example would be coded five times, once for each element:

> I think that an outstanding teacher needs to have patience and a good sense of humour [*personality and personal qualities*]. They need to be able to relate to children and build up good relationships with them [*affective related skills*]. They also need to know their subjects well [*cognitive related skills*] and be able to control the class [*organization related skills*]. Finally, I think they need to want to make a difference to the children's lives because teaching is more than just a job [*professionalism*].

This exercise was repeated using the responses gained from the sample of teachers in Denmark. A comparison of the two sets of responses brought some interesting results.

Table 6.6 illustrates the findings for the Danish sample when compared with those from England.

Table 6.6 Teacher Attributes - *'Which broad qualities make an outstanding teacher'*

	England 1995	Denmark 1997
Personality and personal qualities	84.4%	36.6%
Affective related skills	78.1%	95.1%
Cognitive related skills	48.4%	46.3%
Organization related skills	59.4%	7.3%
Professionalism	24.2%	65.9%
	n=120	*n=48*

N.B. These totals reflect the percentage of cases which made reference to particular attributes and so totals exceed 100%

These data highlight some significant differences in the way the two sets of teachers constructed their professional identities. The teachers in England repeatedly referred to qualities such as flexibility, ability to cope, enthusiasm, organization, humour and a love of children. The following were typical of the spread of comments:

You must have patience, a sense of humour, flexibility and an ability to cope with disasters. You must be versatile and able to 'perform' in front of a class.

You must have a strong personality, be lively and show enthusiasm. A sense of humour, as well as control - there are so many things! Stamina to keep going and class management.

A liveliness and enthusiasm is important. You need to enter into the spirit - be like children, be prepared to tackle things, fairly adventurous and brave. Adaptable and be prepared to change your attitude with different groups of children. It is nice to have a special interest and be able to enthuse the children.

Ability to cope under pressure, you need to be patient, confident in your own ability and able to communicate with the children. You need to be cheerful and friendly and able to organize resources.

This approach was underlined by the high percentage [84%] who laid emphasis on the inherent personality traits and personal qualities which were necessary to be an 'outstanding' teacher. There was also a strong commitment [78%] to affective qualities such as caring, nurturing and empathy with their pupils. Interestingly, in the context of large classes, crowded school premises and a detailed national curriculum, *organizational skills* were considered to be the next most necessary attribute [59%].

Subject skills and a *professional approach* were less often mentioned [48% and 24%, respectively] by a group of workers who saw themselves as 'intuitive generalists'.

The discourse was different for the teachers in Denmark who taught through the age range from seven to sixteen, had a strong commitment to the subjects which they taught, and a professional approach to the establishment of an enthusiasm for independent learning with their pupils. Their responses spoke of '*respect*' for pupils, rather than liking or loving them, an investment in *co-operative work practices* with colleagues, pupils and parents, and a need for *communication*:

> A good educator who respects the individual pupils and considers the pupils as a whole person.
>
> A responsible, socially-minded, professionally competent person with an interest in and an ability to communicate with children and take care of their needs both professionally and socially.
>
> A person who can make the pupils interested in learning, someone who has the pupils' confidence and also knows how to use his knowledge of the subjects in relation to the children.
>
> A person who is visible and attentive, who knows their pupils' strong and weak points and who can give support and self-confidence and who is able to create the joy of learning.
>
> Someone who is able to create happy well-motivated pupils who themselves take a responsibility for their own learning.

These responses help to highlight the differences which can be ascribed to national context, as well as the commonalities which form part of a common professional milieu, in the construction of a professional identity for both sets of teachers as members of an occupational group.

Thus, using the concept of 'nested' layers of influence [Bronfenbrenner 1979] it is possible to represent the concept of professional identity as a set of concentric circles or domains of influence [see Figure 6.1]. These domains of influence are derived from and are, in turn, part of, the various global, European, national, professional and personal environments or 'cultures' which surround the teacher. Although it is

possible to identify a common core of professional concerns and values which can be regarded as universal, there are also national influences which alter the perception of teachers in different contexts and can be regarded as locally specific. Something which can be important when attempting to import policy from different national contexts.

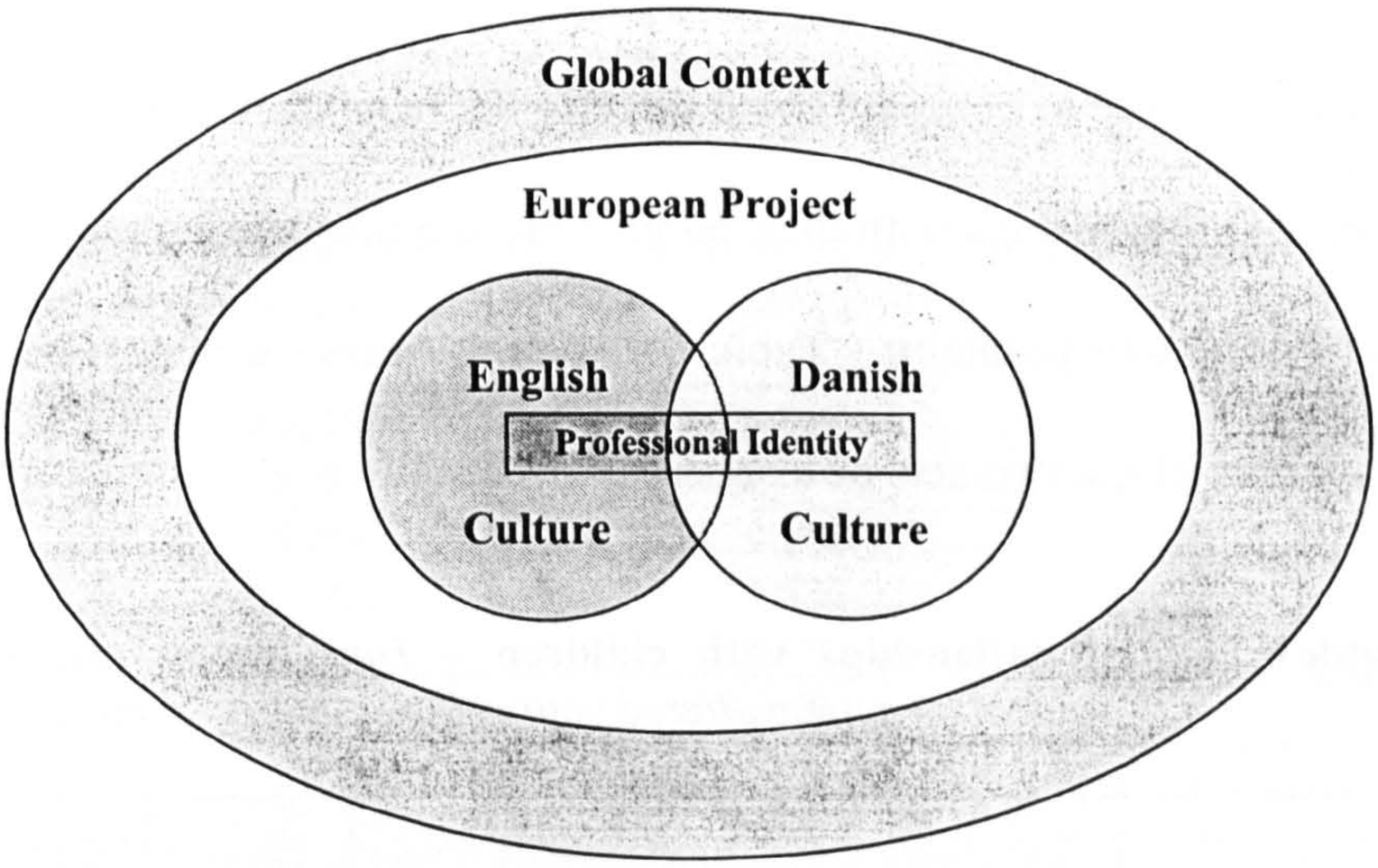


Figure 6.1 A 'Nested' Professional Identity

6.4(iv) The Impact of Policy on Relationships

In response to questions concerning the impact of policy on their work, the PACE project found that some primary teachers in England were reporting concern that pressures due to work intensification, curriculum overload and the need to prepare pupils for national testing were having a detrimental effect on their relationships with colleagues, parents and pupils. Teachers in the PACE sample had expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of time spent on meetings and they also reported that parents had become more demanding, partly as a result of influences like the 'league tables' of school SAT results [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Osborn *et al.* 2000].

In order to understand whether the same influences were at work in Denmark,

teachers were asked to comment on how changes in Denmark [see Section 5.8] had affected their working relationships. The majority of teachers in Denmark considered that the changes in policy had had little impact on their relationship with colleagues or parents. Of those who had noticed an impact, it was overwhelmingly for the better. This was in strong contrast to the situation in England where the amount and pace of change had been unprecedented and their ability to influence it, minimal.

It was possible to compare more directly the responses of teachers in Denmark to the issue of relationships with their pupils with those of teachers in England responding to the PACE questionnaire. Table 6.7, below, shows a major difference between the responses of the two sets of teachers:

Table 6.7 **Relationships with children** – *Have recent changes to your national education system altered your relationships with children in any way?*

	England 1995	Denmark 1997
Better	15.6%	8.3%
Worse	32.8%	0.0%
Unchanged	38.3%	85.4%
Don't know	13.3%	6.3%
	n=128	*n=48*

Teachers in the English sample considered that changes associated with the national curriculùm and assessment procedures had left them with less time for informal contact with their pupils, less ability to engage with the affective. It had also left less time for flexibility and innovation, in order to extend and elaborate on particular pupil's experiences or interests [Osborn *et al.* 2000]. In interview, they also expressed a desire to ensure that the classroom experience of pupils should remain as constant as possible, despite rapid external change. This resistance to change, typified as *'creative mediation'* [Osborn 1996, Osborn *et al.*1997], underlined the importance of

teachers as *'policy makers in practice'* [Croll, 1996] who do not simply implement policy but filter it through their existing culture and values.

6.4(v) Levels of Professional Satisfaction

In the questionnaires, both sets of teachers were also asked whether, if they were just starting out on their careers, they would still choose to be a teacher. This was to help assess levels of professional satisfaction and teacher morale.

Table 6.8 **Professional Satisfaction** - *'If you had the chance to choose again, would you still choose to be a teacher?'*

	England 1995	Denmark 1997
Yes	55.5%	79.2%
No	27.3%	16.7%
Don't know	17.2%	4.1%
	n=128	*n=48*

These results provide support for the original hypothesis that the pressure and pace of change for teachers in England was creating higher levels of dissatisfaction. The evidence from the PACE project suggested that there were no significant differences between teachers working in different socio-economic catchment areas as regards the *extent* to which they felt their role to have changed. However, there was some evidence that teachers working in schools of low socio-economic status felt a greater loss of freedom to teach as they thought best for their pupils. There was, however, a difference with regard to age and length of experience, and a 'new professionalism' was emerging amongst some newer teachers, who were more likely to find satisfaction within a more constrained and instrumental role without losing their commitment to the affective side of teaching. The issue of professional confidence was important for all teachers, and lack of confidence to cover all the national curriculum subjects may have contributed to the loss of fulfilment and enjoyment

experienced by some teachers [Osborn *et al.* 2000:64]. Because of the limited size of the Danish sample it was not possible to draw any conclusions with regard to differences between different teachers or different working environments. However, issues of professional satisfaction and dissatisfaction were taken up in more detail during the case study research and are reported in Chapters Eight and Nine.

6.5 Summary

Evidence from this preliminary study supported the original hypothesis that educational policy and societal change were pressing less heavily on teachers in Denmark than they were for teachers in England. However, there was also some evidence that teachers in both national contexts had similar understandings about what it means to be a teacher and the way in which they constructed their professional identities. A joint emphasis was placed on good communication, enthusiasm, and a commitment to the development of strong affective relationships with their pupils.

On the other hand, there were also differences between the two groups of teachers in the construction of their professional identities which could be demonstrated to be a product of the particular cultural contexts within which they lived and worked. Teachers in the Danish sample displayed more confidence in their approach to professional practice and the need for expert knowledge. The teachers in the English sample, in contrast, relied more on personality, organization and a 'love' of children.

In addition, the policy context in Denmark, which was one of agreed evolution, created a more sympathetic context in which to work, allowing for a greater continuity and confidence between teachers and their pupils. The evidence suggested that, at the time the data were collected, teacher morale and job satisfaction were

considerably lower in England than in Denmark.

The next three chapters will continue to build on these findings by discussing data collected during four separate weeks of fieldwork, conducted in four case study schools. These studies were designed to explore the impact of the local interpretation of national policy on the creation of the working environments in which the case study teachers carried out their contractual responsibilities. The analysis pays particular attention to the influence of school organization and structure on the teachers' working conditions, as well as the perceived space for individual agency in the construction of a congruent professional identity.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN - AN ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL CONTEXTS IN WHICH THE CASE STUDY TEACHERS WORKED

7.1 Introduction

This chapter uses data gathered from observation, interview and documentary evidence [school documents and OFSTED reports] to describe the four schools in which the case study teachers worked. It highlights intra-national, as well as international, differences and commonalities, and links the predominant concerns of the case study head teachers to national policy demands. It begins by giving some general statistics relating to the size of the schools, their location, their pupil intake and their staffing. It continues with a more detailed description and analysis of various contextual issues within the study schools which were relevant to the study. This analysis is supported by photographic evidence [see Appendices IX, X, XI and XII] and is divided into the following sub-sections to both aid analysis and facilitate comparison between the schools:

(i) location and physical environment;
(ii) pupil intake;
(iii) organization, management and external relations;
(iv) teachers and curriculum; and finally
(v) the ethos, aims and future development plans of each school.

7.2 Description of the Location, Status and Profiles of the Four Study Schools

The schools were located in similar national regions. The English schools were situated in the South West of the country, which is an area of mixed economy, relying on a combination of industry, commerce, agriculture and tourism. It is an area of relatively buoyant employment, containing as it does a large city, a busy port and easy motorway access to the national capital.

One school, Mason Road Primary School, was situated in a socially and economically disadvantaged area south of the region's major city [see Appendix IX],which drew children from a fairly stable community where unemployment was higher than in the outlying suburbs. The other school, Margaret May Primary School, was situated on the coast in a small town approximately fifteen miles south of the city [see Appendix X]. This school drew children from a more transient population of socio-economically, upwardly mobile commuters, many of whom travelled to well-paid jobs in the city. Both schools were slightly bigger than the average English primary school, contained the usual complement of teaching and support staff, and had recently received good OFSTED reports.

The Danish schools, despite their different structure [see Section 5.9(ii)], matched their English counterparts in several important ways. They were both located on the second largest island of the Danish archipelago which, like the South West of England, had a mixed economy relying on small industry, commerce, agriculture and tourism. One school, Dalskolen, was situated close to the centre of the fourth largest city in Denmark. It drew children from a stable city locality where there was higher unemployment and social disadvantage than in the outlying suburbs [see Appendix XI]. Like its comparable school in England, Mason Road Primary, it was on the edge of, but not part of, an area of the city which had a significant number of families from other cultures. The second Danish school, Vestskolen, was situated at the southern end of the island in a small town about twenty miles south of the city [see Appendix XII]. Here the population was socially and economically more advantaged and many commuted to the city to work. Both schools, in common with the majority of Danish *folkeskoler*, had after school clubs attached to them run by the School/Freetime

Organization [*skolefritidsordning,* SFO]. These were not part of the school but staffed by *pedagogues* trained in supervising children engaged in leisure activities. The younger children went to the SFO when school finished, just after midday, until they were collected by their parents.

All four schools were examples of the standard, non-selective schooling provision in each country, funded entirely by the state. They provided education for both girls and boys at the primary stage, and drew their intake from the surrounding, local community. Each school had seen the recent appointment of a new head teacher who was perceived, by their local authority, the local teacher training institution and parents as having brought new vigour and vision to their respective schools.

Table 7.1 - School Profiles

School	Location	No. of Pupils	Av. Class size	Age range of pupils	Percentage of ethnic minorities
Mason Road Primary School	urban/city	389	28	4-11yrs	10%
Margaret May Primary School	suburban	374	27	4-11yrs	>5%
Dalskolen	urban/city	580	20	6-17 yrs	18%
Vestskolen	suburban	390	16	6-17 yrs	>5%

Source: head teacher semi-structured interviews, April 2000, and school Ofsted reports July 1999 and January 1999
[N.B. *These statistics refer solely to the years of standard compulsory education and do not include figures for the Nursery section attached to Mason Road Primary School or the Special Education Unit at Dalskolen*]

School selection had been guided by the need for the sample to be what could be regarded as 'typical' for the majority of teachers and pupils in both countries, as well as being assessed as 'good' and 'successful' schools by outside agencies [see Section 4.8(i) in Chapter Four of the thesis]. The following sections discuss in more detail the circumstances of the four case study schools, together with the aims and visions of their head teachers to provide a context for the following chapters describing the work of the case study teachers.

7.3 Mason Road Primary School: Location and Physical Environment

The school was situated in a light industrial area within the city limits of a large conurbation in the South West of England. The surrounding housing was largely council owned and the area was regarded as socially and economically disadvantaged, with few areas of open space [see Appendix IX(a)]. The school building dated back to the beginning of the 20th century and was a typical two-storey, Victorian brick building which originally had separate entrances for boys and girls, as was the custom. This original, two-storey building housed the Key Stage 2 section [8-11years] of the school and had been added to with a more recent one-storey modern extension which housed the Key Stage 1 [5-7 years] and Nursery[1] sections of the school [3-6 years] [see Appendix IX(b) and (c)]. There was a small car park for staff cars which was locked during the school day to protect the cars from theft and vandalism. Access to the school building was controlled by an entryphone, which was an additional indication of the concern over safety for both pupils and staff. To one side of the building was a large tarmacked playground which was bounded on two sides by busy trunk roads which were heavily used by lorries and cars. Noise levels and pollution were a problem for the school [see Appendix IX(d) and (e)]. The playground also incorporated a fenced adventure playground and nature area which was well-used by the pupils.

The entrance to the school was welcoming and there were a few comfortable chairs outside the busy school office on which to wait. Next to the school office was the head teacher's room. At the heart of the junior section of the school was an immaculately kept Victorian school hall with a high rafted ceiling and polished floor.

---

[1] The Nursery section of the school did not form part of the compulsory education structure in England and therefore has not been included in the details of this study.

Seven junior classrooms led directly off this space, causing it to be used as a busy thoroughfare, as well as a teaching space for physical education, music and school assemblies [see Appendix IX(f)]. This lack of appropriate accommodation, together with its city location, was highlighted in the OFSTED Report [1999] as having a negative impact on the curriculum. It said, "..the lack of an adjacent grassed field has an adverse effect upon the provision for games and the need to use the hall as a thoroughfare causes considerable distraction to indoor physical education lessons and also impacts negatively on the quality of provision for collective worship (p.24)" Another concern was the lack of double glazing which meant that some of the classrooms could be disturbed by noise and pollution from passing traffic, especially in the summer when the windows were often open.

The teachers had a small staff room in which to meet and relax. As part of the original Victorian building, it had a high ceiling and was on the side of the building which abutted one of the busy trunk roads. There were two rows of easy chairs facing each other, separated by coffee tables. In one corner was a computer which gave teachers access to the Internet. This was a new and not yet fully used facility [see Appendix IX(g)]. It also had a small area where teachers could make tea and coffee for themselves [see Appendix IX(h)]. The walls were covered with large notice boards, containing a great deal of information which kept teachers up to date with the latest government initiatives. Another wall was lined with storage boxes full of teaching resources, and the teachers' pigeonholes which were stuffed with books, documents and various papers awaiting attention. A white board on the back of the door alerted teachers to the major events for each week [see Appendix IX(i) and (j)].

7.3(i) The Pupil Intake

There were 398 pupils on the school roll, aged between five and eleven years of age who were taught in fourteen classes, with two parallel classes for each year group. These were split between an Infant Department [5-7 years] and a Junior Department [8-11 years]. Although the pupils came from a range of social and economic backgrounds, a significant number came from homes which experienced some financial and social deprivation. The head teacher estimated that 'a good 50-60% of pupils come from families where there are some struggles. Of that 60%, I would say that there's about half who really do battle'. The patterns of employment tended to be short-term and part-time, as the head teacher explained when asked about the main reasons for social and economic disadvantage:

> Yes we are *[talking about unemployment]*. And part time employment. This idea of because one's parents are in employment masks the idea of full employment. The employment may be on a 3 hour shift in the local supermarket, it may be a cleaning job, it may be two or three pub jobs. People trying to make ends meet by cramming as many little jobs as they can into their day, which inevitably leaves little time for their children. There's some level of illiteracy amongst parents, which is common to this area - known to this area. That is reducing, thank heavens.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

Partly as a result of some local illiteracy, the majority of pupils entered school with knowledge and understanding which was below that expected for their age and the proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals [an indicator of financial hardship] was nearly thirty per cent. This was above the national average. Thirty-four per cent of pupils were on the school's special educational needs register and this, also, was well above the national average. Two and a half per cent of pupils had statements of special educational needs outlining specific, additional learning support. Again, this was above the national average. According to the most recent OFSTED Report [1999], levels of attendance were unsatisfactory and well below the national average [i.e. for 'authorised' absence 8.18% as against 5.7%, and for 'unauthorised' absence,

0.87 % as against 0.5%]. The main reasons given for absence were illness, holidays taken during term time, condoned absence by a few parents and carers, and the seasonal absence of 'traveller' children who worked on the fairgrounds throughout the country during the summer months. Despite a noticeable improvement since the appointment of the new head teacher, the OFSTED inspectors considered that high absence levels continued to have a negative effect on the progress made and standards attained by the children involved.

7.3(ii) Organization, Management and External Relations

Following a previous OFSTED inspection in 1995, when the school was under the direction of a previous head teacher, the school was regarded as being in 'Special Measures' and consequently was required to improve its performance. The most recent inspection [July 1999] had found significant improvements which were expressed in the following way:

> The school has many more strengths than weaknesses. Under the leadership of a new head teacher working in effective partnership with staff, governors and parents a school identified with significant weaknesses at the time of the last inspection has been transformed into a good and successful school."
>
> [Ofsted Report, July 1999:6]

This view was supported by the head teacher who considered that the reputation of the school within the community had very much improved over recent years. She suggested that this had a great deal to do with an open and inclusive approach with respect to the needs of pupils, parents and the wider community:

> The commitment of the staff. The clear high standards of teaching. Improved progress of the children that we talk about a lot. [We] communicate that to parents through newsletters, open evenings, but we don't hide it. But also in terms of the change of reputation, the children's involvement in the wider community. Involvement in projects, in Art projects, design projects, raising their self-esteem, their status, their belief in their right to take part in the city, the School Council has a very strong impact, they have a voice. The children have a voice, we want to hear what they've got to say. All of those things count towards a whole movement forwards really.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

The relationship which the school had with parents and the wider community was seen as a particular strength of the school. Parents were kept well informed and encouraged to be actively involved in their children's learning both in school and at home. However, the head teacher considered that maintaining this contact was quite a struggle because of the background of many of the pupils:

> Yes it is a struggle because some of the parents may have carried quite difficult experiences of their own schooling. Also because they're very hard pressed and stressed with trying to make ends meet financially they really don't want to become involved in something where they think that their children are being dealt with over there and 'Right I can get on with this in my world', they don't want that involvement. So there is a varying degree of involvement, but nevertheless we do push hard.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

In accordance with required practice, the OFSTED inspectors had sent a questionnaire to parents to survey their views about the school. The results are listed in Figure 7.1 below, which helps to underline the importance given by parents to the happiness of their children whom they want to 'enjoy' school, as well as the stress put on the caring nature of the head teacher and her staff. There is no evident stress on attainment but a real concern for the health and safety of their children.

What most parents like about the school:

- the children are happy and enjoy coming to school. The fact that they are valued
- the excellent team work of all staff
- the wide range of extra-curricular activities
- the care and support of the head teacher and her staff. They particularly like the fact that the head teacher is out in the playground to meet them every morning and that she is there again at the end of the school day to listen to them
- they particularly like the fact that the head teacher's door is always open.

What some parents are not happy about:

- the position of the school on the junction of two busy roads with traffic lights. they are very worried about the noise and traffic fumes. they are worried about the effect this pollution has on the health of their children

[OFSTED Report, July 1999:8]

Figure 7.1 The Views expressed by Parents about Mason Road Primary School

Although the school received an above average financial allocation for educating each pupil, in recognition of the disadvantages of its intake, it was judged by the OFSTED inspectors to be providing good value for money. The head teacher was considered to

be providing very strong and effective leadership, to the extent that "...improvements brought about over the past two years, since the head teacher has been in post, are quite remarkable". A strong management team, which included the case study teacher Jane, had also been developed to monitor and evaluate teaching and learning on an ongoing basis. The OFSTED inspectors reported that the governing body was supportive and effective and all staff had clear job descriptions and took part in an appraisal system, managed by the head teacher, which indicated the strong emphasis the school placed on the continuing professional development of all staff.

However, the head teacher was very concerned that issues of appraisal and staff development were being jeopardised by recent government policy concerning the 'threshold' process by which experienced classroom teachers were able to move to a higher pay scale:

> I've got two thoughts really. One's the cynic in me and that is 'God help us all'. The knowledge of the threshold assessment and what I've seen here in the last two weeks and what I know is about to hit. I think schools will become a very different place and it worries me desperately....the threshold assessment was sold as a way for the most experienced teachers accessing the right to a pay rise in response to their skills and experience. In real terms, from what I've seen so far, the criteria for that judgement is just yet another mini OFSTED and I feel cheated for my staff...it's becoming very clear over this last fortnight that what the staff have got to produce as evidence suggests to me as being almost impossible. My concern is the external assessors have the right to veto a head's recommendation with no appeal....
>
> [head teacher interview 2000]

Her major concern was that the process would 'interfere seriously' with her current method of staff appraisal and development, and the supportive nature of her role:

> Heads are required to assess an application [*for the threshold*] cold, we've been instructed not to coach staff. That is going to interfere seriously with my management development method because I have just held development meetings with all my teachers. I'm looking at what they believe they need next, what they want me to come and look at in their classroom for monitoring. So it shows how open they are, to improve their own practice. What they want other colleagues to come and monitor. Where they see themselves in three or four years' time. So that if they are looking for senior management I know to access things for them and to make sure that I involve them in certain management tasks in the school so that they skill up. But to achieve threshold assessment...it totally compromises it....Instead of being in this office saying, 'Right okay....you've had this year group for a year and a half, it's a complete change for you how do you feel its gone?' 'Well to be honest with you [head teacher], I've not really enjoyed it, I want a change, I think I've got it wrong.' And we discuss the reasons.....it's not

come off, they've evaluated it – very sound professional judgement....They're not going to do that any more. They're going to say, 'God, if I tell her that it's going to go against me for assessment'. Great, for goodness sake, how am I going to run my school? That's my real terror...when does the development interview following an assessment this year become coaching for next, and how do I now handle my development interviews for my staff? It is causing me sleepless nights because they [*personal development interviews*] are vital to the movement in this school and vital to the relationship I have with my staff.

[head teacher interview 2000]

She also had concerns with regard to issues of equity and the impact of the process on staff workload. She explained in relationship to the nine experienced teachers which she had in the school who would be eligible to apply:

Very clearly, I can see that out of the nine, four would be able to put an evidence pack together with no real difficulty because they have been at the forefront of some of the developments for the last three years. That is not to say that the other five have not been part of that development but they've not been the driving force, they've been the army not the generals, if you like. But they've been there doing it, moving us forward. And part of the assessment has to be the assessment of their impact on the school. Now how are they going to assess that and how am I? Against another colleague who has been a driving force in achieving a development.....that's my worry for the staff....if I get it wrong I've got a teacher who loses £2000...they can't resubmit in a month if they haven't got a piece of information there, they have to wait a year. Dear God! And we are talking about our most experienced colleagues....It's an enormous amount of work...and SATs in the middle of it. What does that suggest? There's the cynic in me. Yeah, I'm very angry about that.

[head teacher interview 2000]

These concerns and the impact which the 'threshold' process had on the two study teachers will be taken up in the following chapter.

7.3(iii) Teachers and the Curriculum

Teaching within the school was also seen as a strength, with the OFSTED report noting that, "A very significant strength of the teaching in this school is that teachers know their pupils and the pupils' parents very well". Teachers had good subject knowledge and were actively engaged in good long-term planning through effective schemes of work. Behaviour management was also regarded as good, with teachers using encouragement and humour to inspire their pupils to learn. The inspectors noted that, "Pupils are given good opportunities to use their initiative and take

responsibility for selecting resources, posing and solving problems and organizing their own work."

Subject co-ordinators, including the case study teacher Jane, played an important part in ensuring effective planning and continuity across the key stages. The school had successfully implemented both the Literacy and Numeracy national strategies and the Ofsted report made particular mention of the work of the Literacy co-ordinator, Jane, who had effectively planned and developed the literacy hour and 'who regularly and enthusiastically monitors pupils' progress in English', to such an extent that the standards reached by many pupils by the time they left the school were above the national average. The OFSTED report also noted that 'setting' by attainment had been introduced in Years 4 to 6 for mathematics together with graded tasks within each lesson, which was helping to meet the particular needs of the individual pupils. This was also having a significant impact on progress made with regard to national testing. Targets set to improve standards in English and mathematics for 1999 were exceeded at both key stages.

In conclusion, the OFSTED inspectors set out the various strengths and weakness of the school, in Figure 7.2 below, and, not surprisingly perhaps, their emphasis was on attainment and assessment, rather than on enjoyment in learning:

What the School Does Well:

- There is good teaching in almost all subjects
- there has been a very significant improvement in pupils' progress and attainment in English, mathematics and science in the last year
- the behaviour is good throughout the school
- there are very good relationships throughout the school
- the head teacher provides very strong and effective leadership
- the school's ethos is very good
- the partnership with parents and the community is very good

Where the School has Weaknesses:

- unsatisfactory assessment procedures in information technology and religious education
- the assessment of under fives sometimes focuses on what they enjoy rather than the progress they make in respect of a particular task
- the provision for religious education in unsatisfactory
- class teachers do not consistently use the targets on individual education plans when teaching pupils with special educational needs
- children under five in the Reception class do not have sufficient large play equipment to extend their physical development
- attendance is unsatisfactory

[OFSTED Report, July 1999:8]

Figure 7.2 The Strengths and Weakness of Mason Road Primary School

7.3(iv) Ethos, Aims and Future Development

The stated aims of Mason Road Primary School were expressed in the following way:

(It) must be the best school for readers, writers, mathematicians, artists, musicians, carers, thinkers, athletes, in short - all round people believing in themselves.

[OFSTED Report, July 1999]

This underlined the commitment of both the head teacher and her staff to improving the life chances of the pupils who came to them. It was also an indication of the emphasis placed on the development of self-confidence and the breadth of the curriculum aims for a group of pupils who, in economic terms, could be regarded as disadvantaged. The school sought to offer a caring ethos which fostered good values, honesty and fairness. It promoted a 'calm atmosphere' which was committed to improvement and to creating a culture of achievement in which all pupils, staff and governors were given opportunities to develop their talents and attributes to the full. Provision for the social development of pupils was good and the use of class rules, which were negotiated and prominently displayed in most classrooms, helped to promote a feeling of individual responsibility. A variety of extra-curricular activities and residential visits, also provided frequent opportunities for good quality social

interaction, leading to the development of good social skills. The school, at the time of the study, had a clear set of priorities for future development:

- implementing the literacy strategy and raising standards in literacy;
- piloting the National Numeracy Strategy and raising standards in mathematics throughout the school; and
- improving the quality of provision in information technology and raising standards in information technology skills for all pupils.

[OFSTED Report, July 1999]

Figure 7.3 Future development priorities for Mason Road Primary School

However, when asked about the general aims of primary education, the head teacher added an extra dimension to these largely academically focused aims:

> I think if you could draw my staff and myself away from the paper drive and the target drive and the results drive that's hit education in such a dramatic way and you talked about people, what the staff would want was for our children to be ... yes, high achievers, yes reaching high standards, but also being really good all round human beings, being able to access so many different things and for people's individual skills to come out. So if they happen to be brilliant artists it wasn't crammed into 20 minutes on a Friday, or whatever. That's the sort of personal view. All round children, because there's a key thing missing - I think the lateral thinking, creativity is being driven away and it worries me witless. We are educating a narrow society. Because they're really ... we're talking about content driven curriculum. Empty vessel. And it's got worse, if that's possible.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

This concern with creativity and an enjoyment in learning, coupled with a broad curriculum can be seen in contrast to the more narrowly conceived assessment and curriculum issues highlighted in the OFSTED report.

7.4 Margaret May Primary School: Location and Physical Environment

Margaret May Primary School was situated in a coastal town approximately fifteen miles from a large city in the South West of England. It was a little bigger than the average primary school and sited on the edge of a private housing estate, which consisted of a mixture of small 'starter' homes and larger, detached family houses [see Appendix X(a)]. The school was built in 1982 and had modern, single-storey accommodation which, at the time of the study, was insufficient and additional

classroom space had been provided by a series of individual, self-contained, 'temporary' classrooms [see Appendix X(b) and (c)]. These were well-maintained and lined one side of a large playing field. The recent provision of an additional mobile classroom had enabled a library to be established in the main building. The site was bounded on one side by a busy main road, but this was screened by a thick growth of trees and bushes, and the school nature garden [see Appendix X(d) and (e)].

The entrance to Margaret May Primary School was at the end of a cul-de-sac, inside the private housing estate, which caused some congestion when parents collected their children from school by car. In common with parents in many suburban areas, parents often arrived by car even though the distances they travelled were relatively short [see Appendix X(f)]. The staff parked their cars in a private, tarmacked car park, within the school grounds. The school grounds were attractive and provided a range of environments for children to spend their break times. There was a hard play area, quiet sitting and picnicking areas, a small fenced area which included a pond to encourage children to look at the natural environment, as well as a large playing field.

The entrance hall to the school was welcoming and filled with displays of children's work, as well as information for parents. Close to the entrance door was the school secretary's office, through which was the head teacher's room. The main building was in the shape of an 'H' and incorporated a large school hall at one end, which had an attached school kitchen for providing the children with a hot meal at lunch time [see Appendix X(g)]. As with Mason Road Primary School and in common with the majority of English primary schools, the hall was used for several purposes, as a gym, as place for school assemblies and as a dining hall at lunchtimes. The classrooms

were large and airy, with most having both a door from the main school and a door directly onto the playground. Shared work areas outside the classrooms were well used to both extend limited classroom accommodation and allow for small group work. There were a great many display boards around the school which were used to celebrate pupils' achievements and to support and enhance their learning.

Close to the main entrance of the school was a small staff room, lined with comfortable chairs and notice boards containing information for teachers. There was a coffee table in the middle of the room which was covered with books and a tin of biscuits. At one end of the staff room were boxes of resources and trays, each with the name of one of the teachers on it and filled with paperwork waiting to be attended to [see Appendix X(h)]. The staff room also had a small area where teachers could make tea and coffee and wash up their cups after use [see Appendix X(i)]. A door led out of the other side of the room, directly into the school library area. This provided limited accommodation for quiet study and space for two multimedia computers. The most recent OFSTED Report drew attention to the library and said that it, '... is already having a positive impact on pupils' library and independent research skills' [1999:19]. The library also provided an additional area for meetings, private study, and individual musical instrument tuition. At the far side of the library area was a small corridor space with a suite of computers which had recently been installed for use by the teachers though, at the time of the study, computer skills were still very basic [see Appendix X(j)].

7.4(i) The Pupil Intake

The pupils which attended Margaret May Primary School ranged from four to eleven years of age and were split between an Infant Department [4-7 years] and a Junior

Department [8-11years]. Their parents were mostly in paid employment and their home environments were both financially and emotionally more stable than in the more disadvantaged areas of the nearby city. Unemployment, locally, was lower than average and this was reflected in the lower than average percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals [10 per cent]. On entering school, the children's social maturity and educational development was above that usually found in children of their age and many had developed good personal and social skills, and listened and spoke well [OFSTED Report, 1999]. The head teacher, however, considered that this masked more recent trends which, despite a high level of material possessions and foreign holidays, had seen a diminishing of the children's language development on entering school. She put this down to an increase in the number of poorer families in the area and the growing incidence of family breakdown.

The proportion of children with special educational needs was about average [23 per cent], but the number of children from ethnic minority backgrounds was very small. Only three children had English as an additional language. The pupils were generally happy and confident, and behaviour in the school was very good. Pupils were polite and friendly and showed respect for staff and visitors [OFSTED 1999]. Attendance rates were good and there was very little unauthorised absence. By Year 6 [11 years], nearly all pupils were able to function at a level that was appropriate for their age and, in recent years, the standards of attainment at the end of Key Stage 2 had steadily risen [OFSTED 1999].

7.4(ii) Organization, Management and External Relations

Following a previous inspection in 1995, where some weaknesses had been identified within the school, a more recent inspection maintained that, 'The school has many

strengths and few significant weaknesses..... Good progress has been made since the last inspection'[OFSTED 1999]. The head teacher had been at the school for two years and was considered by the OFSTED inspectors to be an excellent leader:

> The school is well led by the head teacher, whose commitment to raising attainment has been crucial in driving the school forward. The head teacher and acting deputy have been successful in creating an environment where the contributions of all staff are valued and a collegiate approach to decision making is encouraged.
>
> [OFSTED Report, 1999]

There was a senior management team [SMT], made up of the head teacher and a senior teacher from the Infant Department [Key Stage 1] and a senior teacher from the Junior Department [Key Stage 2], which met regularly to discuss strategic issues. This group often included the Special Needs Co-ordinator [SENCO], Sarah, who was the focus of the study. The governing body met twice a term for general business meetings and there were three sub-committees [finance, premises, and staffing and curriculum] which met at least twice a term. The OFSTED report found the governing body to be 'hard working and dedicated to the good of the school' and all the staff to be hardworking and driven to make the school a success.

However, the head teacher did see tensions within this relationship, mainly to do with 'an unwillingness on both sides to acknowledge different workloads and different points of view'. She reported that the current chair of governors estimated that he spent two and a half days a week on school business and was more insistent than his predecessor that all governors should play an active part with regard to decision-making. Some parents came to the role of parent governor with a 'single issue' agenda which could cause tensions. Staff representatives, who were aware how very hard they and their colleagues worked, could feel frustrated when parents and other governors 'nit picked' the details of proposals on which they had spent a long time

working. The head teacher considered that lack of time and the pressures of legal responsibility had meant that it was now more difficult to get people to come forward for this voluntary role. The most recent OFSTED inspection found that the programme of staff development provided 'an appropriate balance between the needs of individuals, the priorities identified by the school, and national initiatives such as the Literacy Hour'. They also considered that the teacher appraisal systems carried out by senior members of staff within the school made a 'positive contribution to the quality of teaching' [OFSTED Report 1999]. However, like her colleague at Mason Road Primary School, the head teacher had serious concerns about the impact of the 'threshold' process for which nine of her most experienced teachers were eligible.

Relationships with the surrounding community were good, though the head teacher considered that there was less contact now with the police and social services than there used to be. This was seen as partly a consequence of the hard work of staff in containing potential issues before they needed to bring in outside agencies. The work of the Special Needs Coordinator, the study teacher Sarah, was seen as important here, and this was supported by the inspectors who found that the governors, head teacher and members of the Senior Management Team were 'committed to providing the best possible educational opportunities for pupils with special educational needs' by providing extra support from its general budget for those pupils who did not receive direct funding. A notice board within the staff room was devoted to informing teachers about the particular physical, emotional and learning needs of particular pupils.

The head teacher considered that its good relationships with parents were crucial, and great emphasis was lain on the induction programme for new parents and pupils in

Reception. The head teacher spent an hour with each new parent/couple who came to the school and considered she was very honest with them concerning the expectations with regard to both behaviour and academic work. This was endorsed by the most recent OFSTED inspection which noted that:

> The school values the important contribution that parents make to pupils' achievements and works hard to involve them in their children's learning. Every effort is made to maintain good relationships with parents and visitors to school are made to feel welcome. Parents feel that the teachers work incredibly hard and appreciate the school's warm and friendly ethos. They are generally very pleased with standards of attainment and behaviour, and almost all report that their children are happy at school.
>
> [OFSTED Report 1999]

In common with many primary schools in England, termly meetings were held for parents to discuss their child's progress and a wide range of information, such as regular newsletters and planning boards around the school, helped keep parents up-to-date. Meetings early in the school year helped to familiarise parents with their child's curriculum and also covered specific initiatives such as the 'literacy hour'. This was supplemented by more informal contact between parents and the school:

> Home-school partnership in learning is successfully promoted by having parents help in school. Parents help with reading, accompany pupils to the swimming pool and help with domestic duties such as window cleaning and building shelves. Reading at home is expected of all pupils; additional homework ranges from practising writing and recognising numbers for the youngest children to independent research on current affairs for the oldest.
>
> [OFSTED Report 1999]

There was also a Home-School Association which was well supported and successfully raised extra money by organising social events such as the Christmas and Spring fairs. Recent purchases had included new bookshelves, a computer with Internet access for the library, and substantial donations had been made towards the school's perimeter fencing and purchase of a new mobile classroom. There was a general consensus among the parents that this was a 'very good school' with a spirit of community, and many positive comments were written on the questionnaires sent to every parent before the most recent OFSTED inspection. Again, like the parents at

Mason Road Primary School, their emphasis was on the school environment and the happiness of their children. However, there is also a tension in this more 'middle class' area where the parents both endorse the standards of attainment reached but are concerned about workloads and the perceived pressure on pupils to achieve.

What most parents like about the school

- the school's ethos; the attitudes and values the school promotes;
- standards of attainment and behaviour;
- the fact that their children are very happy to come to school.

What some parents are not happy about

- the amount of homework given;
- the pressure on children to achieve

[OFSTED Report 1999]

Figure 7.4 The views expressed by parents about Margaret May Primary School

7.4(iii) Teachers and the Curriculum

Teaching within the school had improved considerably since the last inspection and was now considered to be 'satisfactory or better throughout the school'. This was seen as the result of appropriate in-service training and 'a whole-school drive to improve standards'. The teachers were well-organised and had good relationships with their pupils, which meant that the pupils felt able to contribute to lessons without worrying about getting something wrong. Pupils were told the objectives of each lesson and the teachers created a good working atmosphere within the school:

Lessons move at a brisk pace and teachers achieve a good balance between whole class, small group and individual teaching. There is a purposeful atmosphere, which means that teachers do not have to spend time on managing behaviour, but can concentrate on the learning objectives.

[OFSTED Report 1999]

The curriculum within the school was well-managed, which the inspectors saw as adding to the quality of learning within the school:

Co-ordinators and staff with management responsibilities undertake systematic support and monitoring of their curriculum areas, and this has a significant impact on the quality of teaching and learning in the classroom.....new teaching methods in literacy and numeracy have been effectively introduced by their respective co-ordinators.

[OFSTED Report 1999]

However, the head teacher expressed concerns that an over-worked staff and some financial constraints were making it difficult to move the curriculum forward, while continuing to provide an exciting learning environment for the pupils:

> The problem is that most of their learning isn't exciting enough. I want to encourage investigative learners who are excited by and question what they see around them. The new ICT suite will help with this – although it would not be my first choice of how to put this into practice. There is a danger with the current trend in government requirements that even the 'little tots' will have their excitement and enthusiasm pushed out f them. I would like to bottle that enthusiasm and ensure that it stays with them through their passage through primary school...At the moment the staff need a couple of years to settle down from all the changes that they have had to cope with in relation to government requirements. They work so hard, no more can be asked of them at this stage.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

The school had recently introduced a system of weekly assessments based on the key learning objectives for each year group and this had been helpful in informing future planning. The school also provided a very good range of extra-curricular activities for Key Stage 2 pupils, including sports, music, drama and gardening and chess clubs. Visits outside the school were also used are to enhance learning and help to develop the children socially. In conclusion, the OFSTED inspectors set out the various strengths and weakness of the school, in Figure 7.5 below, and again there was an emphasis on attainment and assessment, though there is also recognition of the positive school ethos and secure and happy atmosphere.

What the school does well

- attainment in mathematics is well above average and children have good numeracy skills;
- the quality of teaching is good;
- children have very positive attitudes to school and are well behaved;
- there is a very good ethos; relationships are good, children are happy and secure and staff feel appreciated;
- the school is well led by the head teacher and the governors who receive good support from the senior management team and members of staff.

Where the school has weaknesses

- attainment in information technology at KS2 is below national expectations;
- progress at KS1 in English over recent years has been too slow;
- assessment information is not sufficiently used to set individual and group targets, and individual records for the less confident readers lack sufficient detail.

[OFSTED Report, 1999]

Figure 7.5 The Strengths and Weaknesses of Margaret May Primary School

7.4(iv) Ethos, Aims and Future Development

The head teacher was very clear about the aims she had for the school:

> I want to create a stunning learning environment for the children. One which excites them and makes them want to learn. This includes a visually interesting school with lots to look at and prompt them to ask questions.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

This reflected the circumstances of the pupil intake who, in contrast to those at Mason Road Primary School, had more stable home backgrounds and greater access to material wealth. In this situation, schools have to try hard to compete with the excitement of foreign travel, computer games and an active social life, which many of their pupils were able to regard as the norm.

The OFSTED Report drew attention to the fact that the school had a good reputation within the community as one where the children were cared for and loved, as well as receiving a high standard of teaching. It had clear aims and values and placed a great deal of importance on the partnership between the school and the home. The school aimed to provide a happy, caring environment that encouraged children to explore the world of learning. Emphasis was placed on literacy and numeracy, and on giving children a range of learning experiences. The school had a successful policy for personal and social education which encouraged pupils to value themselves and others and to look after their environment. Generally, they treated their own and school property with care, and pupils were involved in daily school routines, such as class monitors, messengers and the older children helped to organise their own school assemblies. They were also involved in fund raising for charity. The OFSTED inspectors concluded that:

> There is a very positive ethos in the school. Relationships are good and staff work together for the benefit of the pupils. There are good channels of communication within the whole school community, and everyone's views and ideas are heard and considered. A climate of openess and readiness for change has been created, and the school is willing and able to improve and develop further.
>
> [OFSTED Report 1999]

The inspectors concluded that the provision for pupils' cultural development was good and there were a number of extra curricular activities and after school clubs which children attended, e.g. drama, school orchestra. A new behaviour policy had been written in consultation with staff, parents and pupils, which placed a strong emphasis on encouraging and praising good behaviour. Bullying and harassment of all forms were taken seriously and dealt with speedily and firmly. The school had a clear set of priorities for future development, based on largely academic aims:

- raising attainment in literacy, numeracy and information technology;
- supporting curriculum co-ordinators to help them to lead developments in their subjects;
- improving the appraisal system and extending the monitoring process.

[OFSTED Report 1999]

Figure 7.6 Future development priorities at Margaret May Primary School

However, when asked about her views concerning the aims of primary education in general, the head teacher suggested that these were much broader than a set of yearly priorities:

> To encourage a love of lifelong learning. It is about giving children the appropriate skills, knowledge and understanding which they will need for the next stage of their education. It is about instilling a strong work ethic, enabling them to use their leisure time effectively and understanding their responsibilities as future citizens....Children need to be given the resources to answer the 'big questions' in life for themselves. To be able to function effectively in the world they find themselves in.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

These issues of independent learning and creative thinking contrast with the priorities identified in the OFSTED Report, which focus on a narrower definition of curriculum attainment. There are echoes here of the contrasts found at Mason Road Primary School.

In the following two sections of the chapter, a detailed discussion and analysis of the circumstances within the two Danish case study schools will be compared and contrasted with their English counterparts.

7.5 Dalskolen: Location and Physical Environment

Dalskolen was situated on the second largest island of the Danish archipelago, close to the centre of one of Denmark's major cities, in a mixed residential and light industrial area [see Appendix XI(a)]. It was built in the 1950s to serve the growing needs of the local community. However, by the 1970s, there was a trend for some of the families with young children to move further out of the city and the school roll began to fall. This situation had been reversed with the establishment of a Special Unit within the main school for pupils with special educational needs. These pupils were drawn from the whole of the island and arrived by bus each morning from their local communities.

The modern, two-storey building occupied a large site and had a large playing field to one side of it [see Appendix XI(b)]. Just inside the main doors of the school was an entrance hall, off which led the main administrative offices which were well-equipped and well-staffed, and included the head teacher's office [see Appendix XI(c) and (d)]. A teachers' staff room was located close to this area and wide corridors led off to the rest of the school accommodation [see Appendix XI(e) and (f)]. The teachers' room was large and airy and had an antechamber which contained spacious cloakrooms as well as lockers for teachers' possessions. The main room was set out with dining tables and chairs and provided a comfortable environment for meeting and relaxing. At one end were notices and teaching resources, at the other was an area with plants and a table for meetings [see Appendix XI(g)]. There was also a separate, well-equipped kitchen next to it where tea and coffee were made ready for the teachers when they had their breaks [see AppendixXI(h)]. Once a week Karen, the case study teacher, met with a group of six or seven colleagues who took it in turns to provide

lunch so that they could relax together around one of the dining tables and exchange information. The kitchen also had facilities to heat food, and a dishwasher.

7.5(i) The Pupil Intake

The majority of the pupils lived in the surrounding area, which contained a mixture of private and council-owned housing. Only eighteen per cent of the pupils had Danish as a second language and there was a small but significant proportion of homes with major social problems, such as financial hardship caused through unemployment and family break up. A lack of national testing for any but the oldest children, combined with a system of self-assessment rather than external inspection, meant that it was not possible to gather any statistical data on pupil performance at the age with which the study was concerned. Officials at the local municipal authority were, however, very pleased with the quality of the education pupils received at the school.

7.5(ii) Organization, Management and External Relations

The head teacher had been at the school for two years and was keen to build on the school's existing good reputation. He was the head of the whole school supported by two deputy heads: one for the main school and one for the Special Unit. There was a relatively flat management structure and regular meetings were held for all teachers to discuss major issues. As was usual in Danish schools, one teacher acted as the representative of the Danish Teachers' Union [*Danmarks Lærerforening*] and was closely involved in any discussions which would impact on teachers' work within the school. The city which funded the school had a very decentralised approach to supervision and devolved the school budget to the control of the head teacher. At the time of the study the teachers and the head teacher were very involved in discussions

about the creation of a new organisational structure. It was intended to create three separate groupings within the school; a primary section [Grades 1 to 3, seven to ten years], a middle section [Grades 4 to 6, eleven to thirteen years] and an upper section [Grades 7 to 9/10, fourteen to seventeen years]. The classes within each section were to be located close to each other in the same area of the school to improve communication and enable more joint working between teachers and pupils. This scheme was related closely to a complementary plan, encouraged nationally, to build teaching teams centred on each section so that, while the *klasselærer* would remain with an individual class as they moved through the school, other subject teachers would specialise within a particular age range. The head teacher explained the perceived benefits in the following way, while underlining the continued commitment to the role of the *klasselærer*:

> I think that this is a good thing because then we can have a culture centred on the different sections [age groups] and think about what is special about them, how can we make a school that is very good for them. But, at the same time, you have to make sure that the 'class teacher' carries on with the individual group because this is the central thing. There are so many values and assets in the 'class teacher' that you wouldn't want to compromise.
>
> [head teacher interview 2000]

The head teacher considered that the school's relationship with the parents of its pupils was very good and that, through the School Board, they had a great deal of influence. What they wanted to know was, 'Is Dalskole a 'good' school?'. When asked what was meant by that the head teacher explained:

> By that they mean, is it a school where the children are safe, where they like to go, where they are happy to go? Is it a school where the teachers participate in the development of education or is it an 'old fashioned' school? And I must say that our school is not old fashioned – on the contrary. The parents think it is a good school because we talk a lot with the parents, and the children are happy to be here. They go home and the parents can see that they are learning Danish and mathematics, etc. But also, that we learn how to take care of one another because we have to live in a community where we are different. So they have to have respect for the unique individual. It's not only the hard facts, but that there are other things in life than pure subject learning. Parents do not ask to see exam results.
>
> [head teacher interview 2000]

This emphasis on the affective dimension of pupils' development, in contrast to a more academic focus, is typical of a general approach to education and schooling which is evident both in government policy, as well as teachers' values. A safe and 'happy' environment is considered a necessary pre-requisite to effective learning. Relationships with the local community, despite an overall lack of resources, were also considered to be positive as the head teacher explained:

> We have good contact with the local community. We have a local policeman and when we have problems we can call on him and he will come to the class and tell them how bad it is to steal and use drugs and so on. We have social workers that we can call on if we have problems with the pupils and their families, so they can go out to the family. We also have educational psychologists. We don't have enough resources. We say to the local council that they must get more resources in an area like this, but it is very difficult. This area has particular problems. The main one is the problem with the immigrants. Children from other areas come into this area and although there are not many fights yet, I can feel them coming. This is not a problem in school but after school when the children go home.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

This proximity to areas which had high numbers of immigrant workers had caused tensions for the head teacher who regularly had parents from neighbouring areas, both indigenous Danes and members of ethnic minorities, who wanted their children to attend Dalskolen where the Danish culture predominated. He was often unable to offer such places because of municipality policy which required that he took all the children from the surrounding area first, before offering places to children from neighbouring communities. The head teacher sympathised with the parents' dilemma but emphasised the Danish focus on the primacy of community, 'Then again the whole idea is that they have to build a society out there but they don't want to, so it is very hard'

7.5(iii) Teachers and the Curriculum

In common with the majority of Danish *folkeskoler,* the teachers were organized into teams around different class groups, each lead by a *klasselærer.* A national

curriculum framework was flexible enough to ensure that the *klasselærer* was able to work with colleagues to tailor teaching to the perceived needs of a particular group [*klasse*] of children. Originally, teachers had moved between both the main school and the Special Unit but this had proved to be more difficult recently for both logistical and timetabling reasons. The teachers who formed part of this study, Karen and Niels, were unusual in that they did work in both areas which they found professionally enhancing. The presence of the Special Unit created interest in the school and it was often used to show interested visitors from the municipality, the local university and the Ministry. The school also regularly accommodated a large number of student teachers. The innovative way they worked with the children with special educational needs had a cross over with the curriculum in the main school, especially for teachers of the younger children. Staff had developed ways of assessing reading and writing both within the whole school and across the island which were regarded as examples of best practice. This type of detailed assessment had the added advantage that it enabled them to tailor special programmes for individual children within the Special Unit, and there were plans to extend this approach to the whole school.

When asked about his view of the characteristics of a 'good' *klasselærer*, the head teacher spoke of certain, indefinable personal and affective qualities in contrast to high levels of subject knowledge. This was combined with an emphasis on the time and space which the Danish structure allowed for teachers to engage in good quality teaching, foster links with parents and address issues of continuing professional development. The appropriate communicative skills to build close relationships with

both their pupils and the parents of their pupils were also seen as an essential element of the work of a 'good' *klasselærer*:

> It is difficult to say, but you can always feel when you are with such a person. I look for someone who will be like a mother or father to the children when they are at school. You need to be understanding, you have to have empathy, so that when you talk with the children you can 'feel' what they are talking about, you can understand the situation and know what the children are feeling. This requires much more than if you come into a class to teach two hours of biology and then you go away again. You need to be a person who can talk to the children on their level, as well as being able to communicate with their parents on their level. You need to be good at listening to the problems they have. Of course it is important that you know how to teach the children to read if you have a first grade class. But we like to talk about the school as a learning organisation. You always have to be learning new things and, of course, when the teacher gets to the sixth grade they have to make sure that he or she has the depth of knowledge to teach Danish appropriately. So you might need to go on some courses. In our system they have time to teach in the class, they have time to talk with parents and they have time to develop themselves as part of their plan for the whole year.
>
> [head teacher interview 2000]

This all combines to create a model of the teacher which includes far more than instruction and academic development. However, the head teacher also pointed out that there were threats to this model which had endured within the Danish system for so long. Teachers were finding that their time for preparation had been reduced and that they were being asked to spend more time teaching. For Danish teachers generally there had been major changes over the past ten years, especially in relation to the move away from a transmission model of teaching and learning, the 'old-fashioned' way, to one of experiencing and constructing knowledge together. The latest *Act of the Folkeskole* [1992] supported a differentiated approach to individual learning needs, within the mixed ability environment of Danish classrooms:

> There have been no specific changes to what is needed from the 'class teacher' over the last ten years in response to policy, but if you talk about teachers generally then it has changed because Danish policy has changed. In the old days, you would come into a class and teach English and then go on to the next, etc. Now it has changed and you must carry out your teaching so that the pupils are much more involved in it. You have to make sure that you give them some tasks where they themselves can develop some knowledge. Of course, they cannot develop all knowledge for themselves, you have to tell them something. But they must participate more in their own learning process. The project work which is part of their final exam in Grades 9 and 10 must have its grounding in Grade 1. Teachers must use multi-media and Information Technology and, of course, that is difficult for some of our older colleagues because they haven't been used to that. Although it has been developing over several years, now there has been an agreement that says that this is what we want from Danish teachers. And in order to be a Danish teacher you must do this or not be a school teacher. Some older teachers do have difficulties with this, but in our school they work in teams and they talk a lot together and if they have problems they must first try to solve them themselves. If they can't, they can come to me and we will

discuss it round the table. We have to take care of one another, in this way, because some people can just go in and do it, but others can't and we have to say, 'OK, just because you are 52 years old you are not finished yet. You are still a school teacher and you have some very good assets'.

[head teacher interview, 2000]

These pressures can, to some extent, be seen as common to teachers in both England and Denmark and are the result of global pressures to raise attainment levels, particularly with regard to information technology. Though, ironically, the place of project work both to enhance personal research skills and encourage collaborative work was becoming more difficult from primary teachers in England where the pressures of national curriculum teaching left little time for cross-curricular and personal project work. There was also a difference in the way in which change was managed within the two systems. Within Denmark there was a supportive approach to change which recognised that some individuals found change more difficult and threatening than others, but that all had something valuable to offer. The evidence was that these changes were gradual and sympathetically imposed and had not created a situation where some older teachers had found it necessary to take early retirement, as was the case in England [Pollard *et al.* 1994].

7.5(iv) Ethos, Aims and Future Development

The head teacher was very proud of the achievements of his school and clear about his plans for future school development. He was equally clear that those plans should not be focused entirely on external drivers with regard to academic achievement. In reflecting upon the situation for his colleagues in England the head teacher commented:

If the government set exam targets and judged my school by the number of pupils who reached those targets, I would say that I wouldn't want the job!

[head teacher interview, 2000]

More recently, it had been suggested that schools should include their exam results or grades on the school's Internet site so that parents could make informed choices. The head teacher was against such a move. To him 'good' schools involved much more than exam grades. They were about supporting and developing future citizens who could play an active and democratic part in the community in which they lived. When asked what he considered to be the main aims of education in the *folkeskole,* the head teacher expressed his thoughts in the following terms, emphasising the need to engender self-confidence and self-worth in his pupils:

> It is to make sure that the pupils when they come out of school, of course have basic knowledge in Danish, mathematics, English and so on. This they have to do, but it is also important that they have self-confidence, that they think, 'I am someone'. They can go out and not be selfish but value themselves, to think, 'I am a good person and I have some value. I am good at this and I am good at that. I have to participate in a democracy and I have to have an opinion. I have to express my opinion to be part of society'. I think that it is important to have self-confidence without being selfish. Then you are well-equipped to go out of school and participate in democratic debate and be a part of what is happening.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

He also considered that teachers and parents had a great deal of influence over education policy which was predicated on a 'bottom up' rather than a 'top down' model of policy change. Policy making in Denmark was inclusive and consensual, and evolved as a result of the experience of teachers in schools. Successive school Acts merely formalised current good practice, rather than establishing radical new methods. His view was that this approach was ideologically and culturally fixed and would not change easily, despite the pressures, both global and European:

> In Denmark policy is made on the basis of development projects in the schools that teachers have been involved in. Then they say, 'OK this looks good, this fits with Danish society, let's make this a law'. The process is from the bottom up and not from the top down. I hope that this will continue but, of course, there are sceptics who criticise our involvement with the EU and worry that bureaucrats in Brussels will say you have to do this or that. So far we haven't reached that point, but it is a danger. The Danish culture and roots go down a long way. The tradition of the Folk High School and the strength of the agricultural movement, where the farmers in the local community got together to decide, go way back. This is unlikely to change.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

The head teacher supported the latest *Act of the Folkskole* [1992] which had encouraged a holistic approach to teaching and learning, involving a view of the 'whole child' which did not talk merely in terms of academic achievement. However, he also recognised the enormity of the task which teachers had in preparing pupils for a changing world in which they needed to be able to do a great many things which were not required of young people when a previous generation left school.

7.6 Vestskolen: Location and Physical Environment

Vestskolen, was situated on the edge of a small, coastal town to the south of the island, in a prosperous area surrounded by farmland and a thriving tourist industry. The town itself was built around a busy harbour, from which small ferries plied backwards and forwards to the smaller, surrounding islands. The school was located in a socio-economically advantaged area with a predominance of private housing, scattered across a semi-rural area on the outskirts of the town. The school was a modern, one-storey building set on a large campus at the end of a residential cul-de-sac [see Appendix XII(a), (b), and (c)] . Its entrance opened into wide corridors which were lined with paintings and modern sculpture. The suite of offices which constituted the administrative hub of the school were spacious, well-staffed and well-equipped [see Appendix XII(d),(e), (f), and (g)]. Across the corridor was the teachers' staff room which had a separate cloakroom and personal lockers for the teachers. The main room had large windows on one side and it was furnished with several dinning tables surrounded by comfortable dining chairs, as well as an area of more relaxed seating. Each table had a potted plant in the centre and teachers used the room to relax over tea and coffee and eat lunch [see Appendix XII(h)]. There was a small, well-equipped kitchen area which could be used during the day, though tea

and coffee were provided for teachers during break times. A relatively new addition, was a computer in the corner which was connected to the internet and available for teachers to use. As in England skill levels were still developing with regard to the computer. There were some notices around the room and bookshelves at one end, though there was less evidence of paperwork waiting to be dealt with than in the English schools [see Appendix XII(i) and (j)]. Adjoining the teachers' room was a quiet work room where teachers could prepare their lessons or deal with administrative matters.

7.6(i) The Pupil Intake

A few pupils came from poorer backgrounds but the proportions were small - only one or two in each class. The majority of pupils came from comfortable, middle class homes where both parents had well-paid jobs. However, like her colleague at Margaret May Primary School, in England, the head teacher considered that this apparent affluence masked some pressing social problems concerned with absent parents. There was also an increasing incidence of single parents and parents who had remarried. As the head teacher explained, the school did its best to ameliorate the potential problems:

> We do a lot of work with both biological parents and we try to get them both to come in to discuss their children. We send letters to both of them. We do have some families where we are in contact with both parents. There are problems, but we do try.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

There were three physically handicapped pupils at the school and about twenty pupils who had some special educational needs. The school received money from the municipality to provide the necessary extra teaching hours for these children. If their development was particularly slow, they could also attend classes at a Special Unit in the nearby town. Two pupils in *klasse 3.a* had the additional help of an extra teacher

working with them in their classroom and there was a Special Centre within the school if children needed extra help with their work or their behaviour. Not many of the pupils needed to use this facility and most pupils were very able intellectually and came to the school with good social and communication skills.

The class sizes were generally between sixteen and eighteen pupils, however in Grade 8 there were twenty-two pupils, which was unusual. This was because there were originally thirty-two pupils in the year group but ten children left the school in Grade 7 to attend an *efterskole* and it was then necessary to make one class from the remaining pupils. The head teacher saw this as an increasing trend among the more affluent members of Danish society who chose to move their children to an *efterskole*, with boarding accommodation when they are about fourteen or fifteen years of age. This was because they considered that their children could benefit from a more independent lifestyle and the additional extra-curricular activities available at most *efterskoler*. Having attended their *folkeskole* since the age of six or seven years they would perhaps gain some new experiences with new teachers and make some new friends. However, *efterskoler* are part of the *frieskole* system and so, although they were heavily subsidised by the government, it was also necessary for the parents to make some financial contribution for food and board. Not all families had this option available to them, though this contrast was not as great as that involved with English fee paying boarding schools [see Section 5.3]. Having spent a year or two at an *efterskole*, most pupils from Vestskolen then moved back into the state system by attending a *gymnasium* for a further three years of education before they entered higher education. Economically, this growing trend created a problem for the school and so the head teacher was keen to build good relationships with both pupils and

parents in order to ameliorate the situation. However, this did cause some professional tensions, as the head teacher explained:

> ...we have to take care that the pupils and parents are having a good time. This is why I want to make a close contact with pupils and parents. But on the other hand, I can see sometimes that it would be better for a girl or boy to move to another school. Perhaps to a residential efterskole. We have to do things well here or pupils will move to other schools in the town.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

7.6(ii) Organization, Management and External Relations

Vestskolen, like the majority of Danish *folkskoler*, had a very flat management structure, with a head teacher, one deputy head teacher, a small leadership group and a great deal of influence in decision-making devolved to the teaching body. It also had a close relationship with the local community on several levels. The School Board was very active and consisted of the head teacher and deputy, as well as two pupils, two teachers and seven parents who were elected by their constituent groups and served for two years. The Board met once a month and it provided teachers, parents and pupils with a forum for decision-making within the school. The parents were encouraged to help plan for the school that they wanted for the next three to five years. They were all volunteers but were very committed to ensuring that things ran well within the school. Once a year the parent representatives held a meeting for all parents to explain their decisions. However, these meeting were often very poorly attended and the head teacher considered that this was, rather than apathy, an indication of the increasing pressure of work and the busy lives which many parents lived. The teacher representatives, as is the case for all teachers in Denmark, received twenty-five hours a year to serve on the School Board.

At the time of the study, the head teacher had only been at the school for a year. She had come to the school from a private school where she had been deputy head for two

years. She enjoyed her new post but was very keen to make changes, particularly in relation to the closeness of the relationship between the school and the parents which she considered to be less close than that in the smaller, *frieskoler*:

> At [her previous school] we would call parents as soon as we felt things were not right with their children. We would phone the parents and invite them to the school to talk about the problems. Some of the teachers here are afraid of the parents, but things are changing. Contact is closer in the private school system because you have the contact from the first day. They say they want close contact. Here we have to train the contact. Many parents in this area are very interested in the school, so we do have something to build on.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

When asked what she thought the majority of her parents wanted from the school, the head teacher was clear that although academic achievement was important, it was not the only yardstick by which they judged the school:

> Our parents here are economically well off. Both parents have professional jobs and are away all day at work. They are well paid and they want a good school for their pupils. They want good Danish and mathematics and other subjects in the school that will give their children a good education and enable them to go on to the gymnasium. They are more interested in the level of academic work than in some other schools but also they want children to be good human beings, their social skills and involvement also important. They need to be able to take care of others and be able to work together. They also need able to be responsible for their own learning and independent and able to plan.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

As with her colleague at Dalskolen, the head teacher was underlining the demands of Danish society which expected their *folkeskoler* to be a microcosm of the communities which they served. It was expected that, as well as academic aims, they needed to prepare their pupils to work co-operatively, as well as to develop an independent approach to their own learning.

Through the *socialforvaltning* [SSP], a community forum which included representatives from the police, the social services and the schools [a common feature in Denmark], the school had close contact with other oganizations which had contact with their pupils. There was a designated policeman who had responsibility for the school, and who came to discuss problems or talk with the pupils if asked. He had

recently been invited to a Grade 8 party within the school. An educational psychologist also visited the school, once a week, to speak with class teachers and individual pupils in order to agree programmes of work.

7.6(iii) Teachers and the Curriculum

The teachers worked together in teams which were attached to the different class groups. Most teachers had a class teacher responsibility, as well as contributing to one or two other class teams. When asked about the qualities of a good *klasselærer*, the head teacher, like her colleague at Dalskolen, again emphasised the personal and affective qualities needed for this sensitive and important role:

> The class teacher is the one who knows the pupils very well and I think a good class teacher is a person who can empathise with their feelings. You have to be able to be glad with the pupil and sad with the pupil. You must be prepared to show your feelings because the pupils need to know you as a person. The class teacher must also be able to manage the team of teachers who work with their class. They must be able to decide how the team is going to work together. They must also act as a go-between with the school management and the teachers in their team. They have to maintain contact with the parents of their pupils, to give them information and contact them when things go wrong. They need to have the courage to talk with parents, whether it is good information or bad.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

This model of the teacher includes an openness to both their pupils and the parents of their pupils which is, perhaps, achievable only through the continued contact which Danish teachers have with one particular group of pupils. However, their confidence in their own professional ability is also an important element. The teachers within the school had been working enthusiastically on a two-year plan to make various improvements to their work. One aspect of this included improvements in the way in which children experienced the transition from the feeder *kindergartens* to Grade 1. Arrangements had been made to enable children to visit Vestskolen from their *kindergartens* before they started at the school full time. There were also plans to have two or three meetings with their parents in their homes, so that teachers could

build up a good relationship with them before their children entered the school. Another development was the intention, similar to that at Dalskolen, to cluster classes in Grades 3 to 6 and Grades 7 to 9 into two sub-groups within the school. New buildings, which were nearing completion, would ensure that each sub-group would be located around a large common area to aid communication and joint working. A local artist had also been engaged to work with pupils to add more colour, decoration and pictures to the walls in the school corridors and common rooms, which underlined the emphasis which was put on the working and learning environment. Included in the new building plans was also a larger library with IT and video facilities, so that pupils from the youngest to the oldest classes could use multimedia facilities to research and enhance their project work which, since the latest *Act of the Folkeskole* [1992], was to play a more central role in the curriculum. The head teacher said that the teachers were pleased to have a clear, focused plan which enabled them to set priorities and understand where funds were being targeted.

7.6(iv) Ethos, Aims and Future Developments

When asked about the aims for her school, the head teacher of Vestskolen was in agreement with her colleague at Dalskolen and drew attention to both the academic knowledge, or 'hard' skills, as well as the affective, or 'soft' skills, which young people needed to contribute for the future prosperity of their communities. She did not perceive the school to have a role in the development of one in preference to the other, but that these dual demands should form the basis of all that they did:

> I think we need to teach them their subjects, so that they are knowledgeable – the 'hard' skills. The 'soft' skills are those which help them act as social human beings. They also need to be able to take care of each other and be able to co-operate and make a plan together.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

Evidence from this study suggests that this approach to the development of the 'whole child', with its emphasis on co-operation, had widespread support among educators, parents and policy makers within Denmark.

When asked what she considered to be the main aims of primary schooling, the head teacher referred to the tension between the academic and affective domains. This was of particular concern within her school where the demands of the parents in her 'middle class' catchment area reflected a growing individualistic ideology which could be identified across an increasingly fragmented society:

> I think we need to teach them their subjects, so that they are knowledgeable – the 'hard' skills. The 'soft' skills are those which help them act as social human beings. They also need to be able to take care of each other and be able to co-operate and make a plan together. The focus is now on the individual to do well but we must not forget to help them become more social. Class teachers have to work harder on the social issues now. We have a lot of pupils coming to us in the lowest class, and when they start school they have a lot of problems working together as a group. When we speak with the parents they say, 'Yes, but you must give my son a good education in his subjects, you must make a plan for him'. We need to persuade parents about the social issues. The old values are disappearing. Today you don't just have one norm, you are subject to lots of information, the media and TV, and children find it more difficult to concentrate.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

These concerns with changes in Danish society were reflected in the priorities which had been set by the government for development work within schools. Money was being made available to individual schools to work on one or more of eight identified areas of development. This process was supported by the head teacher who considered it to be a more appropriate way to develop policy than an imposition from above, though she also expressed concerns about the possibility of a more direct approach, especially with regard to school evaluation and curriculum content:

> I think these are good areas. We can't work on all of them but we can take one and look at that. You couldn't impose policy here. With the focus areas we can work together with other people and we can see what it will mean for our school here. There are concerns though. The national government has been talking about evaluation, as well as more prescription with regard to the curriculum.
>
> [head teacher interview, 2000]

7.7 A Comparative Analysis of the two National School Contexts

The buildings and facilities exhibited by both English schools, though contrasting in their era of construction and surrounding environments, were typical of the relatively crowded and limited accommodation that could be found in many English schools. Mason Road Primary School can be regarded as 'typical' of its urban setting, housed in Victorian buildings designed for a type of basic elementary education where large classes of pupils would have been taught in formal situations using a transmission approach to teaching and learning. Girls and boys had separate entrances and windows were set high in the walls to avoid distraction from the outside world. Though a more interactive and varied approach to learning currently informed teachers' views they were, to some extent, restricted by their accommodation which continued to place pupils in crowded classrooms, which were physically separated from the external environment. Concerns over social and economic disadvantage prompted the staff to compensate for their pupils' perceived impoverished backgrounds in the interests of equity. Good SAT results were considered to be vital not only for the success of the school and its teaching staff but also for the future life chances of its pupils.

Margaret May Primary School, in contrast, was a modern single storey building erected at a time when approaches to teaching were more holistic and informal. Boundaries between subjects and the use of integrated 'topic work' had replaced the 'elementary' tradition of a concentration on rote learning of the basics. The classrooms were clustered around a central hub and had direct access to both the main school building and the outside grounds, which were extensive. This had enabled teachers to be more flexible and creative in their curriculum aims. The pupil intake at Margaret May Primary School was also in contrast to that at Mason Road Primary

School. The children came from more stable, financially secure homes, although there was some evidence that this was changing. The emphasis on SAT achievement was still intense but was as much to do with the continued good reputation of the school as it was concerns over pupil disadvantage.

Despite the physical differences, the organization and management of both English schools were similar and representative of many English primary schools. The head teacher worked closely with a governing body of voluntary representatives who had statutory responsibility to ensure compliance with national curriculum and national testing requirements. Issues of curriculum organization and assessment, however, were largely delegated to individual curriculum co-ordinators, who had a responsibility for ensuring school-wide compliance with national directives. This was a responsibility which individual teachers discharged in addition to their normal class teaching roles.

The educational aims and prevailing ethos of the two schools were also similar in that they wanted to provide a caring, safe and stimulating environment for their pupils. However, there was some evidence that there were tensions between the more general, affective aims and aspirations of the head teachers and the more specific, target-orientated aims expressed by the school inspectors [OFSTED].

The two Danish schools, Dalskolen and Vestskolen, could also be regarded as 'typical' of Danish *folkeskoler* in general, serving as they did two different types of catchment area: an urban area with some social and economic disadvantage, and a suburban area with a largely 'middle class' population. The school buildings were

also typical of most Danish schools, having been built in the second half of the 20th Century, during a period of educational expansion, with spacious accommodation and good facilities. This reflected the importance which local communities and Danish society in general placed on the value of schooling. The school offices, corridors, common areas and classrooms were well cared for and provided good working conditions for the staff and pupils at the schools. The teacher staff rooms and school administrative facilities were in particular contrast to those found in the English primary study schools. In contrast to the English primary schools, both Danish schools also had additional facilities such as art rooms, music rooms, science laboratories, large libraries and sports halls, which were largely a consequence of the fact that they took pupils until they were sixteen or seventeen years of age. However, these facilities were also available for use with younger pupils. For both Danish schools, the link between the *klasselærer* and the parents of their pupils was an essential element of the integrated school community and both schools laid a great deal of emphasis on the development of this. Both schools had close links with their surrounding communities and both had after school clubs attached to them where the younger children would go at the end of the school day [12.00 to 1.00 p.m.] to play until collected by their parents.

.

As with the English schools, both schools were popular with parents and considered by the municipality and colleagues at the local initial teacher education college to be providing a good education for the pupils. Their collaborative and democratic approach to organization and management, set within a flexible national framework, was typical of that found in the great majority of Danish schools. Both head teachers placed a heavy emphasis on the affective as well as the academic dimensions of

schooling and this was, in contrast to England, fully supported at municipal and community level. However, there was some evidence in the case of Vestskolen, which was set in a more affluent community, that the head teacher was beginning to experience increased parent pressure for high academic standards. This was possibly as a result of general concerns over the relatively poor showing of Danish pupils in international surveys [Winther-Jensen 2000].

Such an analysis underlines the contrasts of schooling in the two national contexts, as well as common global pressures which have increased the demands on teachers in both countries to raise the general academic attainment of their pupils, as well as specific skill levels in areas such as information technology. It has also drawn attention to the common pressures in both countries brought about by shifting social patterns and the changing nature of children and childhood [Woodhead *et al.* 1999, Pollard *et al.* 2000]. It has made links between the particular pressures of social disadvantage in schools located in urban areas, such as Mason Road Primary School and Dalskolen, where more often the teachers have to contend with the impact of unemployment and family break-up. While, at the same time, drawing parallels with the schools set in more affluent, suburban settings, Margaret May Primary School and Vestskolen, where teachers have to contend with increasing pressure from parents for individual pupil attainment, at a time when the parents themselves are less able to contribute time and attention to their children's learning.

However, despite these commonalities, there are also marked differences between the two national structures within which the teachers work. First, and perhaps most immediately striking, is the difference in the physical environment. Despite a

difference in both countries between the physical conditions found in the more crowded, urban school and the more affluent suburban school, overall the standards in the Danish schools were much higher. The conditions for both teachers and pupils alike were cleaner, more spacious, better equipped and more well-cared for, providing a working environment with fewer intrinsic triggers for dissatisfaction and low morale. This not only suggested a greater national and community investment in the process of schooling, but also provided some evidence that the conditions provided more space and comfortable surroundings for teachers to develop productive relationships with both pupils and colleagues.

The second contrast relates to the congruence, or otherwise, of the views of policy makers and policy implementers in terms of the aims and purposes of schools. This was evidenced largely in the difference between the largely social and affective aims for their pupils expressed by the head teachers in England and the more narrowly-defined, target-orientated objectives set for them by OFSTED inspectors. In Denmark, despite similar tensions between the needs of government and the aspirations of head teachers, the flat management structure of the study schools and looser policy framework allowed for greater personal agency for teachers with regard to curriçulum, assessment and pedagogy. The head teachers in Denmark were freer than their English colleagues from the pressure of national directives and completely free of the external constraints of SAT testing and OFSTED inspection.

The third difference relates to the impact of policy on professional autonomy. Within Denmark a consensual approach to the formation of policy, the purpose of which is to consolidate emerging practice within schools rather than to initiate significant change,

had enabled all involved to feel professionally confident. Head teachers, in collaboration with their staff, felt able to influence policy not only at local level but also at national level. Circumstances might be changing as a result of increasing economic pressure and shifting political influences but, at the time of the study, this continued to be a significant difference between the two systems.

7.8 Summary

This chapter has used the circumstances of four schools to investigate the specific contexts in which the case study teachers worked, as well as raise more general issues which might have impacted on their situation. Particular attention has been paid to the physical environment, pupil intake, management structures, curriculum aims and general ethos of the schools involved. By choosing two schools in each country from contrasting socio-economic settings the study was designed to investigate possible intra-national as well as international differences.

An analysis of the two national contexts has highlighted some global pressures, notably in relation to economic performance and societal changes, which are impacting on both systems of schooling. However, it has also identified three major areas of contrast in relation to teachers' physical working environments, the extent of external pressure from government policy, and levels of professional autonomy which will be taken up in more detail in the following chapters.

Chapter Eight, which follows, investigates in more detail the working environment, working practices, and aims and aspirations of the two teachers who worked within the English schools and will pay particular attention to the impact of policy on their working lives.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT – AN ANALYSIS OF THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT, WORKING PRACTICES, PROFESSIONAL AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE TWO CLASS TEACHERS IN ENGLAND

8.1 Introduction

Having described the schools in which the case study teachers worked, this chapter analyses the working environment, working practices, professional aims and aspirations of the two primary school teachers in England. It also seeks to understand the impact of national policy on their work. The chapter uses evidence from observation and interview collected during two separate weeks of work-shadowing [one in each of the two English schools] in the Spring of 2000, as well as information from subsequent interviews and the reflective diaries which the teachers kept during the following Summer term. These data have been augmented and refined through an on-going relationship with the teachers and their head teachers, which has enabled several follow-up visits, telephone calls and regular email correspondence. The resulting vignettes attempt to capture in some detail the lived experiences of both Jane and Sarah, as examples of what is common to a large number of their colleagues.

8.2 The Personal Biographies and Professional Responsibilities of Jane and Sarah

The two case study teachers were experienced and committed, and were intended to be representative of teachers at two different stages of their careers. Jane, the teacher at Mason Road Primary School, was in her early thirties, had studied for the four-year Bachelor of Education with Honours, and had qualified after the implementation of the 1988 Education Reform Act. Sarah, in contrast, was in her fifties, had been qualified for over twenty years and had trained initially to Certificate Level, later completing a Bachelor of Education degree. Though both teachers were experienced

and played a full part in the management of their schools, Sarah was nearing retirement while Jane was thinking about the next steps on her career ladder. To this extent the teachers, as well as their school contexts, provided a useful contrast .

Table 8.1 summarises the personal profiles of Jane and Sarah and includes a list of their major professional responsibilities:

Table 8.1 Teacher Profiles

	Age	Years of Teaching	Years in Present School	Teaching Qualification	Professional Responsibilities
Jane	30s	12	5	4-yr BEd (Hons)	Year 6 class teacher KS2 literacy co-ord. Union representative SMT member Teacher governor SPT student teachers Drama Club
Sarah	50s	20+	16	Cert.Ed+ BEd	Year 6 class teacher SENCO + Assessment KS2 numeracy co-ord. ICT staff development SMT member Teacher governor SPT student teachers

Source: Teacher semi-structured interview, March 2000

Key:
ICT = Information and Communications Technology
KS2 = Key Stage 2 [pupils aged between 8-11 years]
SENCO = Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator
SMT = Senior Management Team
SPT = Senior Professional Tutor [responsible for student teachers within the school]

Both were teachers of a class of ten and eleven year-olds [Year 6]. Both were members of their school's senior management team [SMT], members of the school governing body, and were their school's senior professional tutor [SPT] responsible for organising and supporting the practice element of student teachers' work within the school.

In addition, Jane was responsible for the co-ordination of literacy teaching across Key Stage 2, was the Teacher Union representative and ran an after school drama club for children of all ages within the school. Sarah was responsible for the teaching of numeracy across Key Stage 2, as well as having a whole school responsibility for assessment and the co-ordination of provision for pupils with special educational needs [SENCO]. Sarah, together with a colleague, had a responsibility for developing colleagues' computer skills [ICT]. She also acted as an unofficial mentor for new members of staff and, more recently, had covered for an absent deputy head teacher.

Both teachers had been identified by their head teachers and colleagues at the initial teacher education institution as being experienced, able and committed teachers. Both had also been pleased to take part in the study because they considered that it could help them identify areas of improvement in their time management. Jane had been keen to co-operate because she hoped that it would help her to understand the pressure points which caused some negative feelings for a job which she loved. Sarah had similar concerns and the recent premature death of a colleague in service had given her particular cause to re-examine her working life, in order to make changes that would be for her pupils' benefit as well as her own.

Jane was in her twelfth year of teaching, when interviewed, and had been at Mason Road Primary School for five years. She qualified with a four-year Bachelor of Education with Honours, having decided upon a teaching degree after not doing as well as she had hoped in her mock 'A' level examinations in her final year at school. She had originally hoped for a career in business using her languages and, though having a mother who was a teacher, was not immediately attracted to teaching. However, she was now very happy teaching, having resolved some initial doubts:

Yeah, initially, when I first graduated when I first did my teaching job there were moments when I thought ... and I did look into things like Marks & Spencers management recruitment stuff. You know, like maybe people do ... I don't know, when you first get ... maybe get a bit disillusioned by it all. But ... and then once sort of my career started to take off, I decided I'd stick with it. (LAUGHTER) Now I do enjoy it, I do enjoy it.

Jane considered that her skills as part of the SMT had largely been learnt while in post, though, when the school took part in a pilot project, she had had more formal training with regard to literacy co-ordination. She had also had opportunities to attend *ad hoc* courses which dealt with the responsibilities of school governors. At the time of the study, Jane was also studying for a Masters degree in education in her own time.

At the time she was interviewed, Sarah had been teaching for over twenty years and had been at Margaret May Primary School for sixteen of those years. She started teaching at the school on a part-time basis after a break to have her family, before a full time post became vacant. She qualified at a teacher training college in the nearby city. Originally, she had enrolled for the usual Certificate in Education but then stayed on to do a final degree year, to qualify for the recently established Bachelor of Education. After a brief period teaching in a primary school within the city limits, Sarah left to teach in a British Forces school in Germany. She married a fellow primary teacher who, at the time of the study, was head of a primary school in a neighbouring county.

Sarah had been on several staff development courses during the course of her career. The most enjoyable had been a ten-week sabbatical which enabled her to attend a full time course at a local university department, which focused on special educational needs co-ordination. She had also attended courses to support her role as numeracy

co-ordinator and continued to attend courses to support her ICT development. Some courses had taken place during the school day, but some had been during 'twighlight' hours, after a day's teaching, or on a Saturday which could be a strain on family commitments. Her management skills had largely been learnt 'on the job'.

8.3 A Professional Profile of Jane at Mason Road Primary School

Jane was the class teacher for a group of twenty-six, ten and eleven year-olds in their final year of primary schooling [Year 6]. She had the major responsibility for preparing her pupils for their Key Stage 2 national tests in English, mathematics and science, which took place half way through their time with her. The classroom environment in which she and her pupils worked was crowded and busy [see Appendix XIII]. Great care and attention had been taken over impressive classroom displays of a great variety of her pupils' work, as well as displays of curriculum resources. The children sat on small plastic-formed chairs at 'typical' primary school tables, either in rows facing the front of the classroom for the more formal literacy and numeracy lessons or in groups for more collaborative work. Jane's desk was piled high with resources, pupil records, policy guidance and paperwork to be dealt with.

8.3(i) Workload and Working Practices

Appendix XIV describes Jane's weekly timetable with her class and the daily routines for which she was responsible. These data were augmented with entries from Jane's reflective diary which, over the period of a term, also included details of time spent on school work outside the classroom. Table 8.2 lists the total hours spent by Jane on school work during a fifteen week period in the spring and summer terms of 2000. There is a great deal of variation from week to week which is the result of a

Table 8.2 An Extract from Jane's Reflective Diary [measured in hours]

ACTIVITY/WEEK NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5 & 6 Easter break	7	8	9 SAT week	10	11 half term	12	13 school trip	14	15
Teaching	19.00	19.00	21.00[1]	26.25	-	19.00[2]	26.25	26.25[3]	26.25	-	23.00		17.25[4]	8.50
Planning	7.00	8.00	8.75	8.50	-	8.25	7.75	8.75	10.50	1.50	5.75		8.25	20.50[5]
Marking	3.25	4.75	1.75	3.00	-	4.50	3.75	-	0.50	-	0.50		2.75	1.00
School Assemblies	0.75	0.75	0.25	0.25	-	0.25	0.75	0.75	1.00	-	0.50		-	-
Pastoral Responsibilities	0.50	0.50	4.75[6]	2.00	-	0.75	1.50	1.00	1.00	-	1.75		2.75	0.50
Meetings: staff & school	2.00	-	-	6.00	-	3.75	5.00	2.50	3.00	-	9.75[7]		3.25	8.50
Paperwork	2.25	2.00	1.00	2.75	-	1.00	2.50	3.75	2.00	13.00[8]	8.25[9]		5.50	1.50
Extra-curricular/school duties	-	2.50	0.25	0.75	-	-	-	4.50	2.00[10]	-	-	76.00[11]	-	4.50[12]
CPD & student supervision	7.25[13]	5.25[14]	-	-	11.50[15]	5.50[16]	-	2.25	1.25	-	-		10.25[17]	2.75
TOTAL	**42.00**	**42.75**	**37.75**	**49.50**	**11.50**	**43.00**	**47.50**	**49.75**	**47.50**	**14.50**	**49.50**	**76.00**	**50.00**	**47.75**

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

---

[1] One day of sick leave
[2] One day Bank Holiday
[3] This was mainly the supervision of SAT testing
[4] Jane was supervising a student teacher who was responsible for some class teaching
[5] Jane received some non-contact time to observe English lessons as part of her co-ordination role
[6] Parents' Evenings
[7] Meeting in London to help organise Festival of Reading
[8] Completing the Threshold application form
[9] Writing statutory reports of individual pupil progress
[10] School concert
[11] School trip to France with Y6 pupils
[12] Jane was involved in the school fair
[13] School directed INSET day
[14] School directed INSET day
[15] Work on an assignment for a Masters Degree in Education
[16] Completing an assignment as part of a Masters Degree in Education
[17] *mentoring student teacher*

combination of days off for bank holidays and time away from her class to engage in further professional studies. However, it is possible to draw some general representative statistics from the data. When adjustments are made for holiday periods and exceptional circumstances [e.g. week 13's school trip] a general pattern begins to emerge. A five-day week normally involves between forty-seven and fifty hours of work. This includes approximately twenty-six hours of teaching, eight hours of planning, between two and four hours of marking, two to four hours of meetings, and two to three hours of paperwork. Time during her Easter and Half Term breaks time was also used to engage in further professional development and complete the Threshold application [this is discussed in more detail in Section 8.3(iii)].

Jane worked closely with the male teacher responsible for a parallel Year 6 class, with whom she planned lessons and shared resources. In order to improve attainment, they had grouped the children from both classes into a higher and lower achieving group for mathematics teaching. Some pupils swapped classrooms for the Numeracy Hour which took place each morning, with Jane taking a slightly smaller group of children who were 'struggling', while her colleague took a larger group of pupils who were more confident. This had resulted in a closer working relationship between the two teachers, but had also involved additional time spent in more detailed planning and had necessarily imposed a more rigid timetable on the two classes. Appendix XIV (b) and (c) illustrate the detailed planning which Jane and her colleague engaged in for a week's co-ordinated teaching within the literacy and numeracy sessions.

The work-shadowing week took place shortly before national SAT testing and there was evidence that Jane's timetable had, for this reason, been temporarily focused even more intently on test preparation. The following extract from a day in the life of Jane

[see Appendix XV] illustrates clearly the feelings of stress and pressure to perform, for both Jane and her pupils. At one point she reminds the children about the time constraints under which they were working:

10.10 Jane now asks the class to put their hands up to tell her about the paragraphs. She wants at least one person from each group with their hand up. When the children flag the teacher urges them on – '*Come on, we're wasting a lot of time on this one*'.

10.15 Jane tells them they have 10 minutes to complete questions 1-5. There is a moan/exclamation from some children – '*OK, I'll give you 10 to 15 minutes but don't talk with a friend, do it on your own*'.

[*This is an exercise based on the Literacy Hour. The teacher explains that she would not normally spend so long on it but they need to revise because the SATs are coming up soon.*]

Curriculum content, teaching methods and pace were clearly being driven by the need to prepare the pupils well for the upcoming tests.

8.3(ii) Professional Aims and Aspirations

When asked about the qualities of a 'good teacher', as well as humour, Jane emphasised motivation, assessment skills, subject knowledge and behaviour management:

Well I think, one, motivation, high expectations. Matching the children to what you're giving them. Being able to use assessment as part of the tool, so it's an ongoing assessment and knowing what comes next. Having the knowledge to be able to impart it to the children, so having ….quite a broad knowledge and skills yourself. A sense of humour ……don't get too stressed…..keep smiling even when you want to cry! Oh control, let me say behaviour as well, behaviour management. I think that's quite an important one, a very important one. Not just reprimanding the ones who've been naughty, but reward and praise and so on.

Despite the changes and pressures which were now evident in her work, Jane considered that she had worked hard to ensure that this had not affected the essential relationship between teacher and pupil:

I think you try not to make it any different, but I think … no I would hope I wouldn't try and make it any different. I think there is pressure on you to try and say 'Right, now come on, you've got to get this right', and you do do that. But not to make children feel that they aren't liked by me or respected by me just because they're not as good as someone else or because they're under pressure for these tests [SATs] and they're not achieving as well as anyone else. And that has been the biggest change and I would hope that that hasn't affected the way I handle the children or build relationships with them.

She considered that this important relationship with her pupils had two distinct, but symbiotic, elements which extended well beyond the school gates and were exemplified in her interaction with pupils on school trips:

> It's like when you go on school trips. Your role as a teacher, although you're still a teacher, you're responsible for these children, they're in your care, the relationship is different because you're outside of the school gates. It's much more relaxed, it's much more of a .... *'in loco parentis'* if you like and much more approachable and friendly way. But still keeping the 'I am the teacher' type of barrier, if you like.

Jane considered that the aims of primary schooling were broad. Her emphasis on safety, reflected the environment in which the school was situated, but she was also clear that it was not purely about academic achievement but included a moral dimension. The full development of the individual, for their own as well as the benefit of the broader society, was also key:

> I think to make them feel safe, give them a safe environment .... where they feel they can learn. I think that's an essential criterion for the school. And then give them the opportunity to develop their knowledge and their skills and their understanding in all the different subjects ..... to foster an attitude and a moral responsibility, in all these sort of aspects that means they are going to be a developing person in themselves, an individual and have responsibilities to society as well ..... So it's a whole package really of not just .... the academic but the pastoral and the developing side as well...I think it's to get the best out of a child in whatever way it happens to be.

When considering whether children currently leaving primary school had received a better education than those who experienced it prior to the 1988 Education Reform Act, Jane felt that they had. Though she did have reservations with respect to some, less-favoured areas of the curriculum:

> ... they must be covering more, they must be taking more on board ... they've probably definitely got a more focused curriculum. As for a broader to curriculum, well I suppose the aim is that it's meant to be a broader curriculum, but the things that are missing out are always the things like your music and your art and your P.E.[physical education] and they're always the first to go because of this pressure to have to do your core ones [national curriculum subjects].

Jane considered that this was a particular problem with regard to art which was linked to a celebration of children's work evident in the elaborate classroom wall displays:

> I think the art... there probably has been less of. Because you haven't got the time. In literacy for example everything's so much more focused and you can't do your drawings with your pictures any

more. I'm not saying that's art, but you know there isn't time to do ... um, things where you're not seen to be learning something. And your art has got to be really focussed, it's got to be in the time, an hour, so you can't ... maybe in the afternoon ... well we do, but everything's got to be 'houred' and timetabled. And you can't go onto maybe ... if we were doing humourous poetry, for example, here I might have previously got the children to do some artwork that we wanted to then display or something, whereas now...

Jane's predictions for the development of primary education over the next five years was, again, focused on curriculum issues and recognised the pressure from global economic drivers which could result in yet more testing:

....there's going to be a higher focus on things like ICT [information and communications technology], and the way that it can be incorporated into the curriculum. So possibly how you're going to teach other subjects through ICT might be more of a major focus. I'm hoping there will be ... well no I think, first of all, I just feel that there is going to be a science hour or a science 30 minutes. I think something like that will happen. I think it'd be nice if we saw the return of Art as some sort of strength but at the moment I can't see further than where they're going to put it in - unless they go back to a topic approach. At the moment I cannot see that happening just because of the competition between global nations and it seems to be getting worse in that you're always sort of competing ... and just from the development of the economy etc etc. At the moment I can't see it. I think there'll be more testing in Key Stage 2. I think it'll get to be statutory testing at Year 4 and then I think it'll go to Year 3 and Year 5. I can see that happening until we can't cope with any more .... I think that's enough probably.

However, she was opposed to the idea of a quasi-specialist model for the primary teacher as she considered that the 'generalist' teacher, who covered the whole curriculum for a particular class, was a fundamental aspect of being a primary teacher. Needing to teach areas with which the teacher was not familiar acted as a form of professional development. However, she did value the informal combination of individual teacher's skills:

But I think maybe primary teachers might get more subject orientated. It'd be a real shame, I hope it doesn't go down that line. I would say the love of being a primary teacher is the fact that you're a 'generalist' ... you feel like you can cover everything. And yes there are always going to be areas where you feel like 'Yes I have more knowledge in that than something else' you know. For example obviously literacy is my thing but not RE [religious education] .... I don't have the knowledge in my head, it'll just be purely from what I've had to teach the children, it's not anything else. And I have worked in one school where I used to do the P.E.[physical education] for another Year 2 class and she did the music for example. And in those situations ... if a colleague was much more of an expert at something like music then I would welcome it. But, saying that, when I do do things like that I really enjoy it ... I might not be as fantastic as this other teacher, but it'd be a real shame, I think, if I never ever did music.

This preference for a generalist role was not, for Jane, merely to do with personal and professional development. She saw benefits in the close, on-going relationship

between a primary teacher and his/her class which could contribute positively to the quality of pupils' learning:

I think it's really good that primary [school] children .... develop a relationship with one teacher. It makes such a difference to the way children respond... there is that development, that growing ... that I think comes from having one teacher. But ... I think it'd be so like secondary [school], it'd be so impersonal and so like having to move ... everything would be moving around and it [the curriculum] would be even more blocked into time .... it's bad enough now just having setting where they've got to move from one class to another. I mean it's nice that I get to know more of the Year 6s than I did before. But that's enough - and it's only in maths .... if you had to do it with ... the whole school for example.....So the main thing is from a professional point of view you would lose skills and you would not be stretched in areas that it's quite nice to be stretched in. But from the children's point of view it's about the relationship that you build up with them that would be damaged if you didn't have them, and see them doing everything.

Jane was also concerned about the effect which such a change would have on an individual teacher's relationship with the parents of their pupils. She considered that this relationship had been changing and that parents now felt more able to get involved with their children's learning, which she saw as a positive development. Though she was also concerned that there should be reciprocity within this relationship:

I think parents obviously feel like they've got more rights now in schools... which is good ... that they have a right to know what's going on their classes and they have a right to ... know about their child's education - to know what's going on and have what's best for them, if you know what I mean. And I think you do feel like you need to be more accountable to them to make sure they know test results or they know how well their child's doing. But also for them to support their child at home. There's that much more pressure on. You know, we need to make sure there's this relationship both ways, you know. That both of you have got responsibility.

This communication and contact with parents Jane regarded as being as much pastoral as academic. Many of her conversations with parents centred on behaviour and the extent to which pupils were 'happy' at school. This detailed knowledge could be compromised if she were to see her pupils on a purely subject basis only. The contact between parents and children's home backgrounds also gave Jane an additional dimension to her teaching, as she explained:

Yes, I think it does have an effect, in that it helps me to understand more about the child's background and find out any issues or problems, whether it's unconsciously ..... just find out from observations of parents and so on, or knowing what's going on in their lives and who's influencing them in their lives. And having that support from parents on a behaviour level or an academic level I think has to be really

important. Knowing they've got those supports if there's an issue can only be beneficial if the parents are seeing it positively. Sometimes you do get parents who get very, very defensive about anything like that. But even then I feel it's my right to talk to the parent about it even if they are going to turn round and blame someone else.

For Jane, this intermingling of the academic and the pastoral played a very important part in her work as a primary class teacher.

8.3(iii) The Impact of Policy on Jane's work

In response to issues of government policy, Jane considered that the work of teaching was changing and that she was now under increasing pressure to 'perform' in accordance with government policy. This feeling of helplessness in the face of continuing pressure from government directives to raise pupils' test performance was expressed in the following way:

Yes, definitely. I think because you just feel like you can't stop, you're always running ... you know, you always feel like you're under pressure to perform. Especially when you're a Year 6 or a Year 2 teacher. But I think for everyone. You've got to get to this step, you've got to tick this box, you've got to do this. You've got to ... you know. I think that if it goes to your own personal targets – hopefully it won't be on [pupils'] results...I think if it's seen as results the stress can only get higher.....and I think then it will just be seen as having to teach to the test for everybody, and teach to fiddle the results. (LAUGHTER) You know!

This stress was added to by the remoteness of policy formulation and the limited opportunities to have any real input into either the thrust or detail of change:

... there are consultation periods aren't there with these Green Papers where you can say whether you think something's going to work or not. But the response they encourage is limited. And who writes these things? It is probably this unknown little group sitting round a table somewhere ... for government policy it feels like that, definitely.

Despite the part that she and her school had played in a recent literacy pilot, which was carried out in selected schools before the introduction into primary schools of the compulsory 'literacy hour', Jane had her concerns about the existence of any 'true' consultation and the lack of time for reflection:

....the actual policy itself comes about, doesn't it, through poor results or the need to make something consistent throughout state schools.... they get advice, I suppose, from experts in those fields. So it doesn't tend to be ordinary teachers. And then, sometimes, it works from pilot schools like we did in the Literacy Project. But even then it wasn't ... it was only given two years.... I suppose we sort of said whether or not this was working or not. But nothing was really changed. We never wrote

anything down to say 'Okay, this is good, but this is how we could do this' and then the Literacy Strategy was launched....There was some feedback from OFSTED on evaluating the project, but I don't think they gave long enough for it to work, you know what I mean?.... to know whether or not it was going to be effective or not.

Jane considered that these pressures from policy directives had also brought a certain amount of fragmentation to her work. It had changed the emphasis from a more holistic view of the curriculum to one focused on academic achievement and test results:

I'd say it's a lot more subject based. It's a lot more structured in the content of what we have to teach, obviously. There's a lot less flexibility in going off onto a different subject or developing a theme. You know we've got hundreds of little themes going on, but you can't really develop one thing. And nothing seems to relate to each other. It's much more secondary [school], subject orientated. I'd say that there's a lot more pressure to produce results and you know the hard data results rather than show value for money, value added in the actual children's progress.

She regretted that the space for flexibility and creativity within her teaching had been restricted by policy initiatives:

Well it's all basically from government initiatives ... because of the key stage documents, which we're now using for curriculum work. Apart from 'story', that's about the only thing I've got some flexibility on (LAUGHTER) ... obviously the core like the Literacy Strategy and the Numeracy Strategy you hadn't really got much choice over. And we initiate those exactly as they're prescribed. The rest of the ... Science and the rest of the foundation subjects and R.E. [religious education] we are using the QCA [Qualifications and Curriculum Authority] documents, or will do, once they've all arrived. And the R.E.'s got the Bristol syllabus. And at the moment they're not statutory so we've chosen that we're going to use those.

With the coming of key stage testing, work within the classroom had found a new urgency and there were increasing pressures to teach to the test in order to ensure increasing attainment levels for pupils. A more evolutionary and holistic approach to curriculum issues was being restricted by the need to 'fill the gaps' which would enable pupils to get good test results:

[There is] much more, I would say, teaching to the tests in the last few years. And encouragement from advisers to do that as well ..... openly giving you revision guidances which are much more ....how do you answer this question. You know, 'Give the children these opportunities to do this, this, this and this'. 'Give them the '97 paper to do' da da da da da. So it is much more filling in the gaps and giving them this practice rather than just keep on giving them lots more skill and then hoping they'll know it all.

In order to alleviate some of these pressures, Jane's experience of collaboration with colleagues was positive, though one which she had always regarded as part of her working practice. This was, perhaps, partly a result of her initial teaching experience having been post 1988 and the introduction of the *Education Reform Act*:

> I suppose it depends on your school, but in my experience I've always worked with a partner, you know a team partner, a year group partner .....even if it was mixed classes. And then either as a Key Stage or as a whole school, so it's always been collaborative work. And I'm quite fortunate in that I've always worked in a big school so you can have that opportunity, so it's not a closed door situation. It very much is everyone's - always either working in pairs or you can easily monitor what's going on sort of thing.

In relation to the new demands for increased accountability, Jane had mixed feelings. She had been through the OFSTED inspection process twice while at Mason Road Primary School. She saw an overall benefit from external inspection for whole school development but also regarded the current process as unnecessarily stressful on teachers:

> I think to have some sort of external inspection to come in .... is useful, but how it is approached is probably the bit that needs to be looked at. But I think there does ..... need to be some sort of monitoring. I'm probably contradicting myself here, but some sort of monitoring by an external body to just ensure that there are certain procedures or some things that schools are adhering to, if we do have to be accountable .... as a state school to the government or whoever. I think there are a lot of schools out there that do do some things that aren't as good..... having an external body in that says 'Right, well this isn't so good, this is what you need to work on'. And I think you can get probably get trapped into this .... 'Oh we're doing okay. This is all right'.

Her preference, however, was for an internal appraisal system which focused on individual personal development, recognising an overall picture of teachers' work rather than a snapshot in time. This she saw as a collaborative and supportive process which would enable improvements to be made where necessary, rather than the approach of OFSTED which she considered to be distant and less supportive: 'Oh, you're rubbish – and go, and that's the end of it'. Like her head teacher [see Section 7.3(ii)] she was scathing of the new 'Threshold' process which she experienced during the course of the study. She disliked its uncertainty and described it as 'very threatening' and 'nerve-racking', she continued:

It was the need to find things that proved I was a 'good' teacher and the fear that I wouldn't be able to find anything. You know that you are [a good teacher] and people tell you that you are but....I felt completely rock bottom. It was almost, 'I don't want to do it'. Why did they have to do it? A good appraisal system within the school should have been enough. It was difficult to get your head around what they wanted. It was not at all clear what they wanted.

Having been successful in the process and gained her extra £2,000 per annum salary, rather than elation Jane felt let down. As an experienced and able teacher, she was angry to have been put in the position where, 'someone could make a judgement about me based on a piece of paper, or lack of it'. She also considered that the process had had a negative effect on herself and her colleagues who initially wanted to collaborate to support each other in the process but later felt insecure, threatened and demoralised.

8.4 A Professional Profile of Sarah at Margaret May Primary School

Sarah was the class teacher for a group of twenty-eight, ten and eleven year-olds. They were in their final year of primary schooling [Year 6] and, like Jane, she had a responsibility to prepare her pupils for their Key Stage 2 national tests in English, mathematics and science. The classroom environment in which she and her pupils worked was, like Jane's, crowded, busy and full of elaborate displays of pupils' work and resources [see Appendix XVI]. The classroom furniture was similar to that in Mason Road Primary School and, again, they pupils sat facing the front of the class for more formal sessions but grouped around their tables for more collaborative work. Sarah also had a small desk which, like Jane's, was piled high with teaching resources, pupils' work to be marked and paperwork to be completed.

8.4(i) Workload and Working Practices

Appendix XVII describes Sarah's weekly timetable with her class and describes the daily routines for which she was responsible. These data were augmented with entries

from Sarah's reflective diary which, over a period of a fifteen weeks in the spring and summer terms of 2000, also included time spent on school work outside the classroom [see Table 8.3]. As with Jane's diary entries, there were variations to do with holidays, INSET days and the supervision of a student teacher though, again, various patterns can be inferred. During the weeks which included five working days, Sarah worked an average of 54.27 hours a week. Excluding the week which involved a day trip to London, she spent an average of 17.08 hours teaching, 4.64 hours on planning, 5.11 hours marking pupils work, 4.86 hours in staff meetings and 12.25 hours on paperwork. Sarah taught less than she would normally over this period because she was responsible for a final year student teacher who was required to take full responsibility for her Y6 class. This meant that over that period Sarah was involved in an average of 4.38 hours a week of either her own professional development or the tutoring, monitoring and assessment of the student teacher, which was reflected in the category of 'CPD' in Table 8.3.

Like Jane, Sarah worked closely with a teaching colleague responsible for the parallel Year 6 class, with whom she planned lessons and shared resources. Both these Year 6 classes had been selected to ensure a balance of gender, friendship groups and academic attainment across the year group as a whole. There was no setting across the classes though both teachers did group pupils within each class on the basis of perceived ability, for English and mathematics in particular, to aid differentiated teaching. The school had received some 'booster' funding which had enabled small groups who were having difficulty with mathematics and English to have more concentrated tuition outside the classroom in order to improve performance in the key stage 2 tests. Sarah was, however, uncomfortable with this arrangement as she perceived it to be inequitable and initiated by government merely to increase test

Table 8.3 An Extract from Sarah's Reflective Diary [measured in hours]

ACTIVITY/WEEK NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5 & 6 Easter break	7	8	9 SAT week	10	11 half term	12	13	14	15
Teaching	22.75	18.00	22.00	14.50	-	18.00[1]	15.50	20.25[2]	8.00[3]	-	3.25[4]	11.50	13.50	18.00[5]
Planning	7.25	3.25	4.25	4.50	-	8.25	6.50	3.75	5.00	2.00	0.50	5.00	3.50	1.75
Marking	4.75	8.00	8.00	6.50	-	4.25	4.25	9.25	1.00	-	-	2.50	2.75	1.75
School Assemblies	0.50	1.00	1.00	0.50	-	-	1.00	0.25	0.25	-	1.00	0.25	-	-
Pastoral Responsibilities	2.25	6.75	4.25	1.25	-	-	1.25	0.50	5.50	-	1.50	10.75	5.00	7.50
Meetings: staff & school	4.50	6.50	3.25	3.50	-	2.00	5.25	7.50	4.50	-	4.75	1.00	1.75	3.00
Paperwork	5.50	7.00	7.25	6.25	-	9.00	5.00	3.75	15.00	12.00[6]	35.00[7]	13.00[8]	10.50[9]	12.50
Extra-curricular/school duties	1.00	-	1.25	2.75	-	0.50	0.25	1.25	0.50	-	2.25	0.25	13.75[10]	0.25
CPD & student supervision	4.25	3.00[11]	1.75	7.00[12]	-	1.00	6.50[13]	1.50	2.50	-	7.00[14]	6.00[15]	-	-
TOTAL	52.75	53.50	53.00	46.75	-	43.00	45.50	48.00	42.25	14.00	55.25	50.25	50.75	44.75

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

---

[1] May Bank Holiday
[2] This was mainly the supervision of SAT testing
[3] Sarah was supervising a student teacher who was mainly responsible for the class teaching
[4] Sarah continues to have a student teacher working in her class
[5] Y6 are out of school for one day visiting the secondary schools they will be going to after the summer break
[6] Completing the Threshold application form
[7] Sarah used the time away from her class to write the statutory pupil progress reports
[8] Transfer forms to be completed for Y6 pupils to be sent to their secondary schools for next year
[9] Sarah received non-contact time to write reports for SEN pupils in her role as SEN co-ordinator
[10] Y6 visit to the Millennium Dome in London
[11] SAT training
[12] School directed INSET day
[13] School directed INSET day on Threshold Assessment
[14] Time spent mentoring the student teacher
[15] Meetings with student teachers in school

results rather than to be of benefit to all children. Sarah and her colleague planned their literacy and numeracy lessons together and would alternate the timing so that they could share the same set of resources. This arrangement, as with Jane, required a more formalised and restrictive timetable, and involved a great deal of time in detailed planning in order to translate their teaching plans into specific learning objectives [see Appendix XVII(b) and (c)].

The work-shadowing week took place shortly before national SAT testing and there was evidence that Sarah's timetable, like Jane's, had been temporarily focused even more intently on preparing the pupils for their forthcoming tests in English, mathematics and science. The following excerpt from one day of observation in Sarah's classroom [see Appendix XVIII] describes the dictating of a set of science revision notes:

11.36 Sarah is back in her classroom and the children return from their break. She reminds them of what they did in science last week – 'classifying' and 'life processes' – '*We still need to do 'habitat and environment, that's your heading for now'.* Sarah asks them to put their books away for the moment while she goes through a question & answer session of the habitats of different animals.

11.45 '*Right, let's start our notes.*' Sarah dictates information about habitats and environments to the pupils who make notes in their books – '*Don't write whole sentences, only notes'.* Sarah writes any difficult or new words on the blackboard.

11.50 Sarah asks them to put a side heading, 'Adapting to Habitats'. The class begin to discuss together the otter and then Sarah dictates some more notes. Next they discuss 'surviving in hot environments' and Sarah dictates notes on the cactus family. Finally, they discuss 'surviving in cold environments'. The children work quietly, taking down notes in their books. There is no whispering or chatting and all are concentrating on producing their notes.

12.05 Sarah tells them that the reason they are doing this is that they don't have time to do a full project. They are going to have to go through these notes and see how they apply to other plants and animals. One boy will have to copy the notes from someone else as he has not been able to keep up.

Curriculum content, teaching methods and pace were clearly being driven by the need to prepare her pupils well for the forthcoming science SAT. The emphasis is on content rather than understanding and those with weak listening, comprehension or

writing skills would have been greatly disadvantaged. In interview, Sarah explained that this was not the way in which she wanted to teach. She was having to accept, under pressure, a pragmatic need.

8.4(ii) Professional Aims and Aspirations

When asked what her priorities were in relation to her pupils Sarah, while recognising the pressures exerted by national curriculum targets, considered that her aims must be broader. Her emphasis was on processes rather than product. She considered that she had a commitment to both her colleagues at the secondary level of schooling and to the pupils themselves in encouraging and developing an independent and organized approach to their schoolwork:

> Well, there's the curriculum and the academic development, but of equal importance I think is the independence and their preparation for secondary school. I think they run parallel really. I mean what drives the curriculum is the fact that we have targets to meet. So I suppose that does drive it. But having said that we always drove them hard before we had the SATs really. But the independence is important and the organisation and the preparation for secondary school is very important. And we actually get very good feedback that our children actually cope remarkably well.

In order to achieve this, she considered that it was important to have clear expectations for her pupils to enable them to develop an understanding of the importance of their own efforts. However, she also considered that it was important to build up a personal relationship with them so that she could engage with them in constructive criticism of their work:

> I think work ethic. I think the children need to have a very positive work ethic. And I think a positive learning environment. But that doesn't mean ... I'm not talking about being woolly with them, if they do something and I don't like it, I'll tell them. So it's having clear expectations of what I want them to aim for and helping them define what I would like them to aim for personally, I suppose.

Sarah had experienced an increase in collaborative planning with colleagues since her early days in teaching. She enjoyed this and saw it as a positive development that helped them 'share the load'. But, again, there were tensions which were a direct

result of the pressures placed on teachers with the requirements of the national curriculum and testing:

Well, I think maybe the only thing is people are so much feeling the pressure of what they've got to do ... where they've got to start and where they've got to get to with their children ..... This isn't a criticism it's just the way it is.....When their children then come to them in September [from a lower class]....they have a higher expectation, you know. They're not saying that the previous year hasn't done its job, they're just frustrated that they know how much they have to get through and they want their children to be further on than they are....It [joint planning] does help, but at the end of the day, with the best will in the world, they just run out of time. And it's not anybody's fault. They just run out of time, they haven't covered that bit of work. It's just a sign of the times. [Previously] we would have been much more accepting...for them to be where they were.....Well that's the pressure, it's a pressure for everybody. Because people feel guilty because they haven't done it.

This could be felt particularly keenly in Year 6 because of Key Stage 2 national testing which took place each Spring and demanded a great deal of curriculum time for preparation:

Yes, it's a knock-on effect. I mean that happens quite a lot here [Year 6] because what we lose is virtually a term of work because of SATs the way they are. Plus we have to revise everything basically. And we go into total panic in September and think 'Oh, these children!'. But that's nobody's fault.

When asked about the role of 'specialist' primary teachers, as opposed to the more traditional 'generalist' class teacher model, Sarah again had mixed feelings, though she saw current curriculum pressures as a concern. She considered that it was not merely a matter of subject knowledge but also one of lack of resources and facilities, especially with regard to the science curriculum:

But both 'H' and I recognised that really we could do with an ICT [information and communications technology] teacher and although we get by with science, to a large extent ... for the work you're supposed to cover you need a science lab to do it properly. You know in the autumn term we make do with plastic bottles and paper towels and things to do water experiments, it's ridiculous....Resources is an issue for science. I mean we're supposed to be doing a thing with the Comprehensive School where they have to do an open-ended investigation. And we've done it before but we've been cobbling along with ridiculous resources. Why can't we go up there and do it properly in a science lab? So yes, that's an issue. I sometimes think art, but I don't know. I mean some of the children do some lovely art and neither of us is particularly artistic, but they take care and they do some really quite nice art. So maybe that's not such a pressing thing, I don't know. I mean at one time I did think maths. But I'm not so convinced now about maths...You know, even now we come up with things and they ask me things and I have to say 'Well, I don't know, we will have to find that out...let's work at it, let's see...I think R.E. [religious education] is an issue because I think R.E.'s a difficult one for people to wrestle with because I think it's very much a personal thing. And I think being asked to teach R.E. to the depth without conveying any particular feeling, one way or the other, is quite hard So, I don't know, we do it but we dabble a bit.

These pressures of time and the need for the class teacher to cover the whole of the curriculum also had repercussions with respect to the affective and pastoral element of Sarah's work. She considered that learning within the school had been enhanced by a very 'caring' school ethos. This was partly as a result of an inclusive approach to children with physical disabilities. She had taught blind, deaf and wheelchair-bound pupils within the school, as well as two Down's Syndrome children. She saw this as generating a very caring approach to learning, which had had a positive effect on the rest of the school population. The school also had an active and effective programme for personal, social and health education but Sarah did perceive tensions with other areas of the curriculum. She considered that the personal and social needs of the children could sometimes be pushed aside, in order to enable her to meet other, more academically focused commitments, particularly with regard to pupils'questions:

> Yes, I think there are because it's the pace. You know, at the end of the day we've got to get through the curriculum. And the number of times that I say to them 'Just hang on to that one, we'll come back to that one'. I don't know how many times I've said it to them, about 5 or 6 times at least and it's only Wednesday. And I have to try and remember those things. You know so I do try to come back to these things. Okay, some of them are academic. But some of them are just as important, but they're not academic.

This was a great regret to Sarah because although her pupils' results in the SAT tests were very good, she considered that they were missing something very important in their development as individuals.

8.4(ii) The Impact of Policy on Sarah's work

Sarah considered that her own and colleagues' teaching aspirations were currently subsumed under the requirements of government policy, which, despite a supportive head teacher, she found restrictive:

> At this precise moment in time I think we're driven by external factors, if I'm honest. Because 'H' [the teacher of the parallel year group with whom she worked closely] and I do things sometimes because we have to do them, not necessarily because we're committed. We're lucky because [the head teacher] gives us a good deal of flexibility. She gives us a good lot of rope to do things the way we want to do

them. But, obviously, at the end of the day we have to conform to what's expected. You know, we have a responsibility to the whole school, not just to ourselves, I think.

Sarah considered the current government exhortation to 'drive up standards' was perplexing as she had always regarded it as her responsibility to ensure a high standard of teaching and learning. However, her reaction to the two main government initiatives in primary schools for improved literacy and numeracy teaching was complex. Her reaction to the Numeracy Strategy – for which she had a responsibility as co-ordinator – was very positive:

I like numeracy very much ... I was never very good at Maths when I was a child and I only understood it really as I got older and so I can appreciate the 'fuddly' feeling that the children have, and you can see it - the fear. So, really, I love the way you can play around and they begin to see a pattern and that kind of thing, and they're not frightened of it. And lots of different strategies are perfectly valid. So I like that. And I also like the fact that the numeracy framework allows you much more to be flexible. You adapt it and fit it to how you work rather than you stick to this rigid framework.

Sarah's reaction to the Literacy Strategy which preceded it was more critical:

The literacy hour I'm less in tune with, which is surprising because I had an English degree... it's really switched me off from English, teaching in this tightly structured way. I think the key stage 1 literacy is wonderful because it's got very much and SEN [special educational needs] approach, it's very structured, very tight, very phonically based. And I think that's extremely good and I think that's why key stage 1 teachers like it so much. I'm less in favour of it [for key stage 2 pupils]. I don't see the point in them learning all these fancy words about poetry appreciation. It's fun, you know, it's okay, it's fun. But at the end of the day we have to get them to be able to write coherently and that's the area we're having the most difficulty with. And I don't think literacy addresses that. It improves their appreciation and discussion of text, but so far we've not seen a development in their writing skills and that's why 'H' and I are still very 'iffy' about doing 5 sessions [a week].

With the agreement of their head teacher and, more recently, the County advisers, Sarah and her colleague taught only five literacy hours over a ten-day period. They had decided not to teach it in the prescribed way each morning, although they did spend an hour each morning on literacy activities. Though they were both experienced teachers, they had experimented with it but found that their confidence and professional judgement had been undermined. As Sarah said, 'I can't teach that, I'm going to have to give up because I can't do it. If this is what's expected, I'm failing and I can't do it'.

The impact of government policy with regard to the assessment of children's work was also an area of some concern for Sarah. It was an area where there was a perceived need for improvement in teachers' knowledge and skills, but it was also an area of some pressure and stress for both teachers and pupils:

I think in Year 6 they're neurotic about it [assessment]. And I think that's probably because we're neurotic about it. Actually it's like a disease you catch it. We are very open now with the children about assessment. There was a time when we never shared their levels with them. We never really particularly shared what a Level 2 or 3 or 4 meant...but we are increasingly doing that - particularly in writing. To try to get them to see the level of expectation to achieve something, because sometimes they're not terribly discerning. You know, they know that maybe they're not the best at something but they also think that they're doing 'OK'. And it's a bit of a shock sometimes to them and they think they're a Level 4 and they're actually a Level 3. It's quite a shock.

Sarah was concerned about the potential damage to pupil self-confidence and motivation, which could be caused by a pressure to perform. She was concerned that this should be ameliorated wherever possible so that assessment could be used as a supportive lever to enable pupils to improve their work:

...it depends on how you present it to them. Because I think you can flag up why they're a Level 3 but you can also flag up what they know that they can apply to do something about it. And that's how we tend to ... well I hope we try to do it. Because when we do, particularly levelled writing, we'll go through it with a red pen, it's the only time we use a red pen. And highlight things. And we tick all the good things, you know 'that's fair, that's good, that's fair, that's fair'. And what to work on next. If you work on that, that will move you up to here. And they seem quite okay about that.

Sarah's additional roles as co-ordinator for numeracy at Key Stage 2, special educational needs, and assessment also demanded a great deal of her time, which she saw as increasing. She also considered them to be stressful because of the unrealistic expectations of the roles for most primary teachers:

I think the role of co-ordinator is much more demanding than it was. You have to be skilled in all sorts of ways. You have to try to be a good communicator with the people you are working with. In a way, it's quite stressful because people think that because you're the co-ordinator of something that you are good at it. But that's not necessarily the case in primary schools, you have just been left with it because nobody else wants it!

As a senior member of staff, Sarah also needed to find time for her management responsibilities, though again there could be tensions. As well as her more official

functions, she also perceived a more informal, professional responsibility towards her colleagues which was a consequence of the pressures felt by teachers as a result of the increased focus on accountability:

I'm an unofficial mentor because when we went through OFSTED last time, obviously it's very stressful, so each member of the management team took a couple of people under their wing, very discreetly under their wing, and you know used to just have a chat with them. We started going out for coffee and cake (LAUGHTER). And we just carried on and doing it. Not regularly but every so often we say 'Oh we haven't been out, let's go out' and we go and have a natter.....It's part of the management role here as well, you know. We have to watch out for each other..... we've got people who have health problems and we have to be aware that, you know, if they're not okay, they need to go home. And they won't say. You need to go and say 'Look, you must go home, you shouldn't be here'. So we have to be alert to that.

This was not something for which Sarah had had formal training, but skills which she had developed out of necessity. These skills were also employed when she and eight colleagues applied to go through the 'Threshold' during the course of the study. Sarah's experiences of the process, and the language which she used to describe them, were strikingly similar to those of Jane. She, like Jane, had had a responsibility within the school to support colleagues in preparing their portfolios of evidence, which needed to be submitted to their respective head teachers for assessment. Both had spent a great deal of their half-term holidays assembling evidence and preparing their application forms. Both teachers had also provided part of the required representative sample from each school for external adjudication. Like Jane, she found the experience a difficult one and considered that it included the potential for damage to relationships with colleagues and further demoralise a group of hard-working teachers. Much time was spent in gathering evidence for the application and 'decoding' the application forms:

It [the application form] was just <u>there</u> all the time. It had to be in at the end of half term. I wish I'd shot myself! It was worse than a letter of application because you had to do it in a certain way, you had to write it in a certain way – an impersonal way. I was uncertain what they wanted and it had to be objective as opposed to subjective. It's not how we perceive ourselves, it's not how we write about it. Even when you write an application you're putting forward your <u>personal</u> philosophy, your <u>personal</u> experience, but you had to detach yourself and just present it in a factual way.

Overall, Sarah considered that the process underlined the government's lack of confidence in teachers. The message it gave to her was expressed as, 'You're not trusted, you're not competent, you have to prove it all the time'. She was scathing of the certificate which she was sent when she had successfully gone through the process, 'As if that's going to make you feel better!' Before the process was complete, the experience had so demoralised Sarah that she had expressed a desire to leave teaching if she were to 'fail' the process. The inequity of the process alluded to by the head teacher of Mason Road Primary School [see Section 7.3(ii)] was a major factor in this reaction.

8.5 Summary

These data reveal the everyday experiences of two experienced and dedicated teachers working in two contrasting English primary schools which were both perceived to be well managed and providing sound educational experiences for their pupils. The positive assessment by OFSTED inspectors, higher education colleagues and parents of the quality of the schools was important for the study to ensure, as far as possible, that the individual study teacher experiences were not unduly affected by exceptionally adverse conditions within their schools. Thus, the study teachers could be regarded as typical of a more generalised teacher experience within English primary schools.

Both teachers spent the majority of their time working as class teacher for a specific group of Year 6 pupils in their final year of primary schooling. In addition, in common with the majority of their primary colleagues in England, Jane and Sarah were also responsible for a range of other whole-school activities, including curriculum co-ordination, assessment and the provision for pupils with special

educational needs. As a consequence, teachers within both schools met regularly to jointly plan schemes of work, arrange timetabling and discuss the use of resources. This meant that the daily routines of the individual teachers, especially with regard to curriculum organization and the pace of teaching and learning, were constrained, leading to a level of 'contrived collegiality' [Hargreaves, A. 1994]. However, there was also some evidence of what can be termed 'organic collegiality', which had grown out of a genuine desire to collaborate with colleagues. Both Jane and Sarah had found this to be professionally enhancing .

Despite the differences in initial training, length of service and position on a career path, the evidence which Jane and Sarah provided was surprisingly consistent. Both teachers were supportive of the 'generalist' model of the primary class teacher, which contained elements of both the academic and the affective. Pressure from government policy to focus more directly on levels of attainment as expressed by national testing, had forced them to concede that this could lead to a form of secondary schooling specialization which they would regret. Both could see some benefit in a degree of primary specialist teaching, enabling them to 'share the load' imposed by a prescriptive and academically-focused curriculum. Though both were also concerned that such a development might reduce even more the space for individual flexibility and creativity within their work. There was some evidence that Sarah especially, who had qualified earlier and taught before the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act, could remember a less pressured and more creative model of the primary class teacher which facilitated a degree of professional discretion with regard to, for example, the implementation of the Literacy Hour.

A disappointment was expressed by both teachers that a culture of 'performance', for both themselves and their pupils, had created workload pressures which restricted their ability to concentrate on individual pupils' concerns and build the type of close personal relationships with their pupils which they saw, not only as an emotional enhancement to their work, but also as a pre-requisite for effective teaching and learning. With regard to professional autonomy and influence, Jane and Sarah both felt remote from government policy making, with little opportunity to contribute to the development or future thrust of primary education. The introduction of a salary threshold, designed as a formal endorsement of their expert classroom skills and knowledge, gave them access to a higher salary scale and was designed to raise their self-esteem and status. However, this was not a positive experience for either teacher and had done nothing to improve their general working conditions. Evidence from the teachers' reflective diaries, as well as the observation notes which were used to reconstruct a 'day in the life' of each of the teachers, supported the view that not only were the total hours worked by the teachers excessive but that the balance between teaching and planning was not appropriate. A view supported by the findings of the recent DfES-sponsored investigation in teachers' workload [PricewaterhouseCoopers 2001].

Finally, Jane and Sarah's concerns for the future centred on yet more demands for increased attainment and what could be characterised as a 'performance' model of the classroom teacher which was complemented by a 'performance' model of pupil learning, concentrating on the academic as opposed to the affective side of teaching. This was at odds with a professional identity which saw these two aspects of teaching and learning as being inextricably linked and necessary to enable pupils to develop as mature, independent learners.

Chapter Nine will investigate in more detail the working environment, working practices, and aims and aspirations of the two teachers who worked within the Danish schools and will pay particular attention to the impact of policy, both local and national, on their working lives.

9. CHAPTER NINE - AN ANALYSIS OF THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT, WORKING PRACTICES, AND PROFESSIONAL AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE THREE CLASS TEACHERS IN DENMARK

9.1 Introduction

Having described the Danish school contexts in which the case study teachers worked [see Sections 7.5 and 7.6 of Chapter Seven of the thesis], this chapter analyses in more detail their individual working environments, working practices, and professional aims and aspirations. It also seeks to highlight the impact of policy, both national and local, on the teachers' work. The analysis draws on observation and interview data collected during a week-long work-shadowing exercise in each school. These data have been augmented and refined through an on-going relationship with the teachers, which has enabled follow-up visits, telephone calls and regular email correspondence to ensure respondent verification. Two of the Danish teachers were also able to travel to England and visit the English study schools. A process of stimulated recall, using photographs and observation notes, enabled guided discussions to take place between the teachers from Denmark and those from England to add further insight into their attitudes, beliefs and reactions to each others' daily working lives.

9.2 The Personal Biographies and Professional Responsibilities of Karen, Niels and Birgith

The Danish teachers, like their counterparts in England, were chosen to represent what could be regarded as 'typical' for the majority of their colleagues who had class responsibility for a group of ten year-old pupils [see Section 4.8(ii) in Chapter Four of the thesis]. As with the English case study teachers, they were also selected in order to investigate the perspectives of two different generations and stages in career

progression. Table 9.1 below outlines the details of their age, teaching experience and professional responsibilities:

Table 9.1 Teacher Profiles

	Years of Teaching	Years in present school	Professional Responsibilities
Karen	15	6	Joint *klasselærer* of 3B Teacher in SEN* Unit English – Grade 8 class Assessment
Niels	15	6	Joint *klasselærer* of 3B Teacher in SEN* Unit Assessment
Birgith	25+	15	*Klasselærer* of 3A Maths – Grade 3 class English/science/history/grade 6 Staff representative on PTA* School social functions School choir

Source: Teacher semi-structured interviews, April 2000
* SEN = Special educational needs
* PTA = Parent/Teacher Association

Differences in the structure of primary schooling in the two countries [see Section 5.9 in Chapter Five of the thesis] were reflected in the differing responsibilities incumbent on the Danish case study teachers. A major difference was the nature of the on-going responsibility which the class teacher [*klasselærer*] in Denmark had for a single group of pupils [*klasse*]. A second difference was the part played by the case study teachers in 'teams' responsible for other groups of pupils within the school. Birgith at Vestskolen carried out the role of *klasselærer* in a way that was most common in Danish schools. There was an added advantage in work-shadowing Karen and Niels, however, in that it enabled investigation into a developing model of the *klasselærer*, actively encouraged at national level [see Section 5.9(vi) in Chapter Five of the thesis], where two teachers took joint responsibility for the on-going education of a single group of pupils.

All three teachers had responsibility for a group [*klasse*] of children who were mostly ten years of age at the time of the study. All combined the role of *klasselærer* with teaching pupils in other parts of the school. Karen taught English to a Grade 8 class and Birgith taught mathematics to a parallel Grade 3 class, as well as English, science and history to a Grade 6 class. In addition, Karen and Niels also shared responsibility for a group of pupils with special educational needs in the Special Unit at Dalskolen. As a result, both teachers were also involved in a school-wide assessment initiative to determine individual learning needs, based on the methods developed in the Special Unit.

Partly as a result of her long experience, Birgith in addition to her teaching responsibilities was allowed twenty-five hours a year of non-teaching time to be involved in a parent/teacher association which raised funds for the school. This was augmented by an additional 20 hours a year which she used to work closely with the head teacher in organizing large social events for the school such as Carnival and Halloween. Birgith was also involved in various curriculum groups which met regularly to make decisions about teaching programmes and resources. As a keen musician, Birgith also chose to run an extra curricular school choir on two afternoons a week and, at the time of the study, was supervising a student teacher in the school, for which she received additional payment.

All three teachers had been identified by their head teachers and colleagues at the initial teacher education institution as being experienced, able and committed to their work. All three were also pleased to take part in the study because they were keen to learn about the professional lives of colleagues in England, had had experience of

teaching in other countries, and were fluent English speakers keen to use their language skills.

Karen had been a teacher for 15 years. After completing her studies at upper secondary school (*gymnasium*), she travelled to England for six months before returning to Denmark to work as an unqualified supply 'teacher' for a period. Having gained some first hand experience, Karen then continued her studies by enrolling on the standard four-year training course to become a qualified *folkeskole* teacher [see Section 5.9(iv) in Chapter Five of the thesis]. Her mother had been a teacher and Karen had decided on a career in teaching because of her enjoyment of working with children.

Niels had also been a teacher for approximately fifteen years but, unlike Karen, had not continued his schooling into the *gymnasium*. After finishing *folkeskole* at seventeen years of age, he initially joined the Danish Navy and then transferred to the Danish Army a year later. He spent the next six years in the army, gaining promotion. Niels spent six months serving with the United Nations in Cyprus where he learnt a great deal of his English. The army then paid for two years of education for him, which enabled him to do some adult teaching in the army. On leaving the army, he spent three and a half years qualifying to be a *folkeskole* teacher. Both Karen and Niels exemplify the Danish concern with time to travel, mature and seek alternative life experiences before using these to settle on a final career.

At the time of the study, Birgith had been teaching for nearly thirty years. Having completed her upper secondary education at the *gymnasium*, Birgith had chosen to follow a four-year teacher training course which qualified her to teach in the *folkeskole* system. During her career she had taught various subjects at different

levels in the *folkeskole*, but had returned to the role of *klasselærer* when she took responsibility for the group of children [now known as *klasse* 3.a] when they entered compulsory schooling at seven years of age. Birgith had taught for some time in the United States of America and had been greatly influenced by what she had read about child-centred learning in England.

9.3 A Professional Profile of Karen and Neils at Dalskolen

Karen and Niels had chosen to share the role of *klasselærer* for a class of seven-year-olds who had begun their formal schooling in 1998. Since then, they had had the major responsibility for the education of these pupils and had built up a close relationship with both the children and their parents. At the time of the study, the pupils were ten-year-olds [Grade 3] and, although there had been a few changes due to pupils moving into or out of the area, *klasse 3.b* were now a well-defined group. The classroom environment in which they worked, in common with other Danish classrooms, had been largely created by the teachers and children together, though there was less evidence of pupils' work being displayed than in the English classrooms [see Appendix XIX]. The room was light and colourful, though it appeared crowded for the unusually large group of eighteen pupils. The children's chairs and desks were of a modern design, and could be adjusted to the individual child's dimensions. They were placed in rows facing the front of the class where there was a large blackboard and various other teaching resources, including a world map which was common to many Danish classrooms and could be unrolled for teaching purposes. There was a table at the front of the room which acted as the teachers' desk. It faced the pupils and was clear of papers.

9.3(i) Workload and Working Practices

At Dalskolen, in common with similar developments throughout the *folkeskole* system, the teachers had been encouraged to form themselves into teaching 'teams'. A senior teacher explained what this meant in practice at Dalskolen:

> A team of 2, 3 or 4 teachers is connected to each class. Everyone in the team knows exactly what kind of relationship he or she has to the team. Sometimes it might be only two teachers who form the core of the team and, typically, they would then share the role of class teacher. The other teachers who work with the class would then have a more superficial role within this team – though they would, of course, have a more central role within another class team. It is not possible for an individual teacher to become very involved in more than two teams.

For Karen and Niels their innovatory work as joint *klasselærer* had meant that they could also contribute to work in the Special Unit which was of particular professional interest to them both. Appendix XX describes the weekly timetable of *klasse 3.b* during the study period, together with the personal timetables of Karen and Niels. These data were augmented with entries from Karen and Niels' reflective diaries which, over a period of nine weeks in the spring and summer terms of 2000, also included time spent on school work outside the classroom [see Tables 9.2 and 9.3].

The school day in Denmark was divided into 'lessons' of approximately forty-five minutes in duration. For ten-year-olds, the normal school week would include twenty-two lessons. The yearly teaching load for individual teachers was negotiated, at school level, at the beginning of each school year and would take into account time allowances for other responsibilities. Until recently, it was common for teachers in Denmark to have an hour of planning time for each hour spent in the classroom, though this is changing.

At the time of the study, Karen had a total of twenty-one 'lessons' to teach each week, ten of them with *klasse 3.b.* She taught them both music and Danish. The subject of 'Danish' was, however, much more broadly defined than 'English' or 'literacy' was

for the teachers in England. As well as language teaching, Karen also included national history and culture, which linked with her music teaching, and placed a great deal of emphasis on the Grundtvigian oral tradition of myths and legends. It was during one of her 'Danish' lessons that Karen put time aside each week for the 'hour of the class'[*klassetimer*]. This was a forty-five minute period during which, until recently, it was the statutory responsibility of the class teacher to engage the pupils in general discussion about their experiences in school, both social and academic. It was a time used to resolve conflicts within the group, as well as discuss new directions for their teaching and learning.

Niels taught a total of twenty-four lessons a week, nine of them with *klasse 3.b*. He taught them mathematics, art, history and physical education. In common with the normal school organisation in Denmark, Karen and Niels were also responsible for co-ordinating the work of two other teachers who worked with their class. A second female teacher taught alongside Karen and Niels and provided additional help for three children who had recently joined the class and whose home language was not Danish. An additional male teacher took responsibility for *klasse 3.b* for a total of three lessons a week, mostly to teach science and religion, but he was also available on other occasions to provide additional help within the classroom for Karen and Niels. This was an interim arrangement for one year only because three existing classes had amalgamated into two and extra resources were considered necessary to help the new class groups reform themselves. This situation had also resulted in the slightly larger than usual teaching group of eighteen pupils.

Tables 9.2 and 9.3 give a break down of the way in which Karen and Niels used their working time during the summer term of 2000. Compared to their colleagues in

Table 9.2 **An Extract from Karen's Reflective Diary** [measured in hours]

ACTIVITY/WEEK NUMBER	1	2 Easter break	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Teaching	18.75	-	12.00[1]	16.50	12.00	12.75[2]	18.75	11.25[3]	18.00
Planning	18.00	-	14.00	17.50	12.00	12.75	15.75	11.25	18.00
Marking	-	-	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pastoral responsibilities	2.50	-	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.50	3.50
Meetings: school & staff	-	-	2.00	2.00	-	-	1.00	-	3.00
Paperwork	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Extra-curricular/school duties	1.00	-	-	3.00[4]	0.75	1.00	-	0.50	1.00
CPD & student supervision	-	-	-	-	6.00[5]	3.00[6]	-	-	-
TOTAL	**40.25**	**-**	**31.00**	**41.00**	**33.75**	**30.50**	**37.50**	**24.50**	**43.50**

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

---

[1] Bank Holiday
[2] Bank Holiday
[3] 2-day holiday: Ascension Day & Bank Holiday
[4] *Class trip to an outdoor Viking museum*
[5] *Course on assessment with SEN pupils*
[6] Information Technology course

Table 9.3 **An Extract from Niels' Reflective Diary** [measured in hours]

ACTIVITY/WEEK NUMBER	1	2 Easter break	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Teaching	10.50	-	12.00[1]	17.25	17.25	13.50[2]	16.50	9.75[3]	15.75
Planning	10.50	2.00	12.00	17.25	17.25	13.50	16.50	11.25	15.75
Marking	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pastoral responsibilities	-	-	4.50	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.25
Meetings: school & staff	-	-	2.00	2.00	-	-	1.00	-	3.00
Paperwork	-	-	0.50	-	2.25	-	-	-	-
Extra-curricular/school duties	32.75[4]	-	0.50	3.00[5]	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	-
CPD & student supervision	2.00	3.00	-	-	-	3.00[6]	-	-	-
TOTAL	**55.75**	**5.00**	**31.50**	**41.50**	**38.50**	**32.00**	**37.00**	**23.00**	**35.75**

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

---

[1] Bank Holiday
[2] Bank Holiday
[3] 2-day holiday: Ascension Day & Bank Holiday
[4] 2-day reconnoitre and planning for a school trip
[5] Class trip to an outdoor Viking museum
[6] Information Technology course

England [see Sections 8.3 and 8.4 in Chapter Eight], a reduction in the average hours worked per week was accompanied by a different breakdown of the activities in which they were involved. In line with normal Danish practice, time in the classroom teaching was matched more evenly with time available during the teaching day for individual planning. A more significant difference was an almost complete absence of paperwork for both Karen and Niels, and a much reduced level of time spent in staff meetings compared with their colleagues in England. The marking of pupils' work was also a responsibility which was absent in a system which discouraged tests and the giving of marks before the age of fourteen years. A more detailed breakdown of the comparative differences between the teachers in England and the teachers in Denmark is contained in Chapter Ten.

Appendix XXI of the thesis describes a day in the live of both Karen and Niels, as they combine the responsibilities of class teacher for *klasse 3.b* with their additional responsibilities in the Special Unit. This snapshot illustrates the way in which teachers in Denmark move between their various responsibilities, unlike their colleagues in England who are usually with the same class of children for the whole of the school day. However, it also underlines a formal approach to teaching and learning which relies on whole class teaching, with all pupils moving through the same work at the same pace.

9.3(ii) Professional Aims and Aspirations

When asked what they considered their general aims to be in relation to the children in their class, Karen and Niels were agreed that:

> [Our intention is] that they will be 'whole' human beings. That they will be able to manage in society and that they will be able to operate in a democratic world and get on with each other.

When asked specifically about their professional responsibility they were agreed that it was primarily to themselves and their pupils, not in the first instance to the head teacher or the local authorities. Their responsibility towards the parents of their pupils was tempered by a degree of professional distance which recognised that it was not possible to please all of them, all of the time. When asked to reflect on their priorities when working with the children, Karen offered the following, which underlined a commitment to a combination of the academic and the affective:

> I want to create whole human beings. I want to make the children able to live in a democratic world – to make them feel responsible. It's important that they are able to distinguish between good and bad norms of behaviour. They need to develop a value system for life. I want to help strengthen everybody's self-confidence – without exception and at nobody's expense. I want to give the children as much academic knowledge as possible to enable them to choose between the various options in further education – technical, commercial, academic, etc. Their choice of education and career path should not be determined by a lack of skills and ability (i.e. schooling/education) but rather by their interests. I want to give them courage to deal with the authorities and develop a suitably critical attitude to life issues.

Karen and Niels were each allocated thirty-five hours of non-teaching time a year to discharge their duties as the joint *klasselærer* of *klasse 3.b*. The collaborative nature of this role was described by Karen:

> The class teacher acts as leader of the team. They are responsible for communicating with the headteacher and for creating an agenda and calling team meetings. It is also the responsibility of the class teacher to communicate with the parents of the students in their class. Every month the class teacher sends home a newsletter, which explains what the children will be doing over the coming month within their class. The back of this newsletter includes a letter from the head teacher with more general information relevant to the whole school.

Figure 9.1 is an extract from a newsletter [*klassens side*] which was sent to the parents of *klasse 3.b* during the period of the study. It emphasises the extent to which parents are included in the social life as well as the education of their children:

To the parents of *3.b*

Class party: It went extremely well. There was puppet theatre, good food, balloon dancing, quiz and 'playing in the dark' in the basement. Everybody had fun and well all had a wonderful evening.

Homework: It is important that your children do their homework every day and that they bring to school with them the books in which they have been working.

Mathematics: A wonderful experience – when all the children had remembered their rulers. In future the whole class will practice the same multiplication table for a week at a time.

Danish: At present we are working on a topic about the universe. The children are showing a great deal of interest and so it would be a good idea if you could talk about it at home with them. Try, for example, to go out and look at the star constellations together.

Exhibition of the Senses: On March 27th we are going to the Exhibition of the Senses. The children are asked to bring food and drink in a small bag.

Viking Topic: During weeks 12-14 we will be working on a topic about the Vikings in Danish, religious knowledge, art and history.

Project Week: During week 11 the class will be working on 'theatre'. Therefore we are asking for help please with the props. Please look for:

- old [Dutch] clogs [preferably black, but other colours will do]
- hobby horses
- walking sticks [old fashioned]
- a zinc tub
- a washboard
- a chain [for the mayor]
- polystyrene ball [15cm in diameter]

Kind regards Karen and Niels

Figure 9.1 An Example of a Class Newsletter for Parents

This professional responsibility to mediate between the needs of the school, the pupils and the parents was further extended with regard to the central role they shared, in common with all class teachers, in being knowledgeable about the personal circumstances of their pupils. As Niels explained, this role could go far beyond the teaching day:

The class teacher is expected to show initiative and to try and solve problems and conflicts within the social group of the class. It is also their task to contact the parents, if necessary, and to cooperate with the social services when there are social problems for the child or their family. A class teacher must be prepared to meet with parents in the afternoon, after lessons have finished, or even be contacted at home. If one of their students causes trouble in the playground or with another teacher, for example a substitute teacher, it is the responsibility of the class teacher to sort things out.

This concern for the discipline of the class was a shared professional responsibility with the other teachers who worked with the class, and provided a focus for regular discussion, as Niels explained:

> The team also creates a set of guidelines for discipline within the class. It is important that we all have more or less the same attitude towards the children, that we all stick to the same limits and conditions. It is very important for us to continually evaluate the co-operation between team members and discuss how things might be improved.

As a result of the Special Unit situated within Dalskolen, Karen and Niels had been given the opportunity to share responsibility for a class of children with special educational needs. This was unusual and specific to the circumstances of Dalskolen, but illustrated the generally more flexible approach to the role of the teacher within the Danish system. Karen and Niels both agreed that, despite some tensions, this diversity was professionally very enriching and they were able to work together to share the burden of attending team meetings in both parts of the school. Being involved in the Special Unit had given them more interest in the needs of younger children. Before this experience, they would have assumed that they would have stayed with their class until they reached Grade 9. They were less sure now and were considering taking advantage of the new three stage structure within the school which would allow them to choose to stay within the younger section [Grades 1-3].

9.3(iii) The Impact of Policy

The most recent *Act of the Folkeskole* had outlined a curriculum framework within which teachers were required to work. However, Karen and Niels considered themselves to be relatively free to create the detail as they were unencumbered by the demands of national testing. As Karen explained:

> We must discuss and define the curriculum aims, as well as the social and personal objectives for all the students in the class, both individually and for the class as a whole. These must correspond to the aims and objectives laid out in the Act of the Folkeskole but there is a great deal of flexibility in the way the Act can be interpreted. The State does not dictate exactly what you must do, only an outline of

the content to be covered. In Denmark, pupils do not need to be prepared for external, national examinations until their Ninth Grade [16 years old].

Twice a year Karen and Niels, together with the other teachers in the team, created a curriculum plan which needed to be approved by their head teacher. Appendix XXII of the thesis shows the Semester Plan for the period during which the study took place. It highlights the integrated way in which much of the teaching was approached, making use of themes and topics to explore different curriculum areas.

As Karen explained:

The teachers within the team also work together to plan the work for the class for the coming year. This plan is shown to the headteacher once a year, when we have our class conference. In this curriculum plan we show when we run an inter-disciplinary topic across subject boundaries, and when we keep the subjects discrete, for example, courses in reading or computer skills.

This holistic approach to the curriculum had been influenced by curriculum developments such as those in England following the publication of the Plowden Report [1967]. The details of this plan were not discussed with parents and, if children changed school, there was no formal contact concerning the curriculum which they had previously covered. Though a concern with progression and continuity was a major argument in establishing a detailed national curriculum in England this was less of a concern in Denmark where the majority of pupils not only completed their primary and lower secondary education in one school but often remained the responsibility of one teacher for the whole of that time. Only rarely would a child change class within the school, although this could happen, usually for social reasons.

For both Karen and Niels assessment was on-going and formative in nature and closely dependent on the detailed knowledge they had of their pupils which had been built up over the previous two and a half years. There was a certain amount of

freedom for them and their colleagues to use their professional judgement in the way they approached assessment. Karen and Niels drew on their knowledge of each individual's academic, as well as social, development and were not required, at this stage, to grade their pupils either in relation to each other or by normative standards. They spoke once a term to their pupils, individually, about their work, and the length of the meeting would depend on each child and their particular needs. Meetings were usually carried out in the room next to their classroom, having set the rest of the class some work to get on with. They agreed that, legally, they were probably not supposed to leave their class unattended but their experience was that their pupils continued to work whether or not they were in the room. They were probably required to conduct the discussion during break times or after school, but their head teacher allowed them to use their professional judgement.

The process of assessment was also considered to be a joint project, which included not only the teaching team but also the parents, as Niels explained:

> The team must also decide how they want to evaluate the progress of their students. Sometimes we talk to the students individually about their work and twice a year we invite their parents to come to the school and we talk together with the parents and their child about how they have been progressing. Together we then make plans for the coming year – of course, these plans are general rather than very detailed. During this meeting we also focus on the social development of the student, both inside school and after school. We encourage the parents to open up their homes to other children from the class so that we can avoid cliques and create a happy environment within the class.

This emphasis on the class group can be seen in contrast to the demands on teachers in England to set individual pupil targets which are linked closely to academic attainment. It also illustrates the greater emphasis placed on the role of parents and the home circumstances in pupil achievement.

Niels was concerned that society was changing and that this had brought with it particular problems for the schooling of children. There was more emphasis on the 'market' and materialism and young Danes, brought up under a Conservative

government, were more concerned about individual rights and individual success, at the expense of social cohesion and group working. He also perceived that there was now more criticism of schools and teachers both in the press and from individual parents. Previously, parents would have been more content to trust the teacher and more concerned with the well-being of the group, and he saw this as threatening and undermining for young, less experienced teachers:

> I have noticed more criticism than before from parents and the press. They want what is best for <u>their</u> child and are not so interested in the group. Older teachers can handle this, but younger, less experienced teachers can find it threatening.'

Niels considered that this concern with the individual was also at the heart of the problems within the neighbouring schools which had higher proportions of ethnic minority children. As the proportion of ethnic minority children rose within a school, the indigenous Danish parents from wealthier housing opted to send their children to private schools within the *frieskole* system. Niels saw this as damaging to the Danish ideal of the comprehensive system. He was particularly pleased that the most recent school Act had removed any 'setting' or ability grouping within the *folkeskole* system for as he said, this allowed all the children to have, 'nine or ten years of schooling to learn to work together as they will need to do in society – high and low attainers, rich and poor alike'. However, he was concerned that the recent requirement to differentiate his teaching and tailor it to the needs of the individual child could prove to be divisive. If he were required to push forward academically able children in the interests of improving the national skill base, it could open up divisions and make it even more difficult to create a cohesive group within the class.

However, Niels and Karen were both very committed to the enhancement of the role of the *klasselærer* which they regarded as becoming more demanding because of the changes within the wider society. Niels had taken part in a nationally supported

investigation into the changing nature of the role [Harrit *et al.* 1992, Reisby *et al.* 1994] and shared with me one of the outcomes of the research which listed the extent of these increasing demands as seen by the teachers themselves.

Figure 9.2, below, lists those areas of planning, consultation and co-operation which were now common for a majority of class teachers to engage in outside their teaching responsibilities. This list not only emphasises the consultative and consensual nature of the role, in which parents, pupils, colleagues and the community play a part, but also the extended nature of the role which is expected to include much more that just curricular planning and teaching

- Counselling and guidance of individual pupils
- Participation in extracurricular class activities with pupils and their parents
- Discussions with other teachers about individual pupils
- Consultations with individual parents about their children
- Planning activities with parents about class extracurricular activities
- Planning and co-ordination of the yearly curriculum
- Telephone calls to parents concerning individual pupils
- Attendance at parents' meetings
- Co-teaching with colleagues
- Home consultation with parents about their children
- Discussions with their pupils concerning issues of teaching and learning
- Written communication with individual parents concerning their children
- Participation in planned Parent/Pupil Evenings
- Co-operation with the municipality with regard to curriculum planning and teaching
- Co-operation with the educational psychological services
- Discussions with parents with regard to the curriculum
- Planning with parents who help out as visiting 'teachers'
- Co-operation with the SFO [after school centre] concerning individual pupils
- Co-operation with special needs teachers concerning individual pupils
- Co-operation with leisure clubs and community organisations with regard to individual pupils
- Planned consultations with groups of parents
- Planned consultations with groups of parents and pupils

Figure 9.2 The increasing demands being placed on the *klasselærer*

9.4 A Professional Profile of 'Birgith' at Vestskolen

Birgith's class of sixteen pupils [*klasse 3.a*] was one of three Grade 3 classes in Vestskolen at the time of the study. The pupils had been divided into the different classes using a combination of gender and social criteria. However, Birgith judged her class to be very able academically. Appendix XXIII of the thesis illustrates, in both diagramatic and photographic form, the physical environment in which Birgith taught. As was usual in Danish schools, the layout and facilities within the classroom were the result of a negotiation between Birgith and the pupils. When asked if the pupils would retain there area of relaxed sitting at the back of the classroom in the following school year, Birgith said that it would be a matter of negotiation between herself and the children, 'If they want it, they can keep it'.

9.4(i) Workload and Working Practices

Appendix XXIV of the thesis shows Birgith's personal timetable for the week of the work-shadowing and it helps to emphasise the variety of her teaching responsibilities. Birgith taught her class Danish, history and music. She was a keen musician and made use of a fully equipped music studio within the school to get all her pupils singing and playing instruments together as a group. She was also responsible for the *klasse 3.a* class team which included two other teachers, one male and one female. Another Grade 3 class teacher taught them mathematics and science, while art and religion were the responsibility of a Grade 6 class teacher. All three Grade 3 classes were taught physical education together by specialist teachers in a well-equipped and spacious sports hall, though their class teachers were also present for these sessions. Appendix XXIV of the thesis also outlines the timetable for *klasse 3.a* during the week of work-shadowing, showing how the three teachers worked together. The teachers also had time allocated to them to meet together under Birgith's leadership to

Table 9.4 An Extract from Birgith's Reflective Diary [measured in hours]

ACTIVITY/WEEK NUMBER	1	2	3	4 Easter break	5	6	7	8	9	10
Teaching	17.25	17.25	17.25	-	15.00[1]	17.25	15.00	14.25[2]	17.25	10.50[3]
Planning	12.00	12.50	9.25	-	12.00	16.50	8.00	13.50	11.75	3.00
Marking	2.50	-	-	-	-	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	1.25
Pastoral responsibilities	0.50	0.50	6.75	-	0.50	0.50	0.75	2.50	2.25	1.00
Meetings: school & staff	1.00	0.50	-	-	2.50	-	4.00	-	2.00	-
Paperwork	-	2.00	-	-	2.00	1.50	-	0.50	0.75	-
Extra-curricular/school duties	4.00[4]	4.00	4.00	-	3.50	7.00[5]	3.50	3.50	6.25	30.00[6]
CPD & student supervision	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00[7]	-	-	-
TOTAL	37.25	36.75	37.25	-	35.50	43.75	42.25	35.00	41.00	45.75

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

---

[1] Bank Holiday
[2] Bank Holiday
[3] 2-day holiday: Ascension Day & Bank Holiday
[4] Responsibility for School Choir
[5] School Concert
[6] 3-day School Camp
[7] A one day conference attended by the Danish Minister of Education

prepare a curriculum year plan which was sent home to parents at the beginning of each school year. This was necessarily general in nature, for as Birgith said, 'the detailed planning happens each week, or even each day, as things change', underlining the flexibility and autonomy enjoyed by Birgith and her colleagues in curriculum matters.

Table 9.4 is an extract from Birgith's reflective diary which she kept for a total of ten weeks. It details how her workload was divided between her various responsibilities. Again, though slightly more than her colleagues at Dalskolen, Birgith worked considerably less hours per week than Sarah in England. Despite her involvement with whole-school issues, and her responsibility for the supervision of a student teacher, the amount of time spent on paperwork and at meetings was considerably less. Birgith's increased teaching time in relation to time for planning reflects a growing trend in Denmark, which was a concern for all three Danish teachers. The relatively large amount of extra curricular time, is a reflection of Birgith's involvement with the school choir.

Each month Birgith, in common with the majority of Danish class teachers, sent home a newsletter updating parents on progress and letting them know of future teaching and learning projects. In putting together this newsletter, Birgith would consult with the other teachers in her team so that their comments could be included. Birgith laid great emphasis on her relationship with the parents of her pupils and met with them as a group twice a year to discuss any issues which either she or they might have about the class group. She explained it in this way:

> The class teacher calls in all the parents in her class. All the class teachers have a meeting on the same night - no children. We have our first meeting to welcome them back to school and present the year plan towards the end of August - when they have been back for three weeks. At that first meeting all the classes in the schools are calling their parents in and having this meeting in August/September. The purpose of that meeting is to tell the parents what will go on through the year - the 'activity'

calendar. And in terms of the subjects, we will have written that down and we will have had the kids for 2 or 3 weeks and I say what's going on now, how are they, it's good to have them back, or there is a problem with their behaviour or whatever. I have that one and another one after Christmas, in February. We can do that if we need it and I always do it because I think it's good.

She also explained how she managed the two parent consultation evenings at which she was available to talk to parents individually, together with their children, about the progress they were making, both academically and socially. Like Karen and Niels, Birgith considered that it was very important to prepare her pupils appropriately for these meetings and the pupils could find them stressful:

Twice a year we have a meeting with individual children and their parents. There is a statutory one in November and then we have another one in March. This is a three-way conversation. Before this takes place, we also talk to each child on their own. I think this is important because it can be a stressful time for the pupils. I think they should know what we are going to talk about and so I give them some questions and they write their answers and then we talk about it together. We do that before the three-way conversation because I think it is good for the child to know what we are going to talk about. So, actually, it is like a performance, How are you? Do you like school? They feel fine with it and they are more comfortable too. I sit just outside the classroom and they will be set a task or do, such as free reading, or they have something to do on their own or in pairs. It is not for the whole lesson, maybe just 15 minutes and I take one child. Though we are always late and sometimes I have to say, 'you will have to work on your own for the whole lesson, I will just be outside in the corridor', and then I take three because something is always coming up!

This careful preparation can be seen in contrast to the time available to teachers in England to prepare for parents' evenings which, because of their relatively large class numbers and the pressures of curriculum content, driven by the demands of external testing would be difficult to achieve. Appendix XXV of the thesis describes a day in the life of Birgith, which clearly depicts the less hurried pace and extended facilities which are part of her teaching experience.

9.4(ii) Professional Aims and Aspirations

When asked about the qualities of a good class teacher, Birgith was clear that as well as good subject knowledge it included an ability to empathize with the children and to create an environment in which they felt safe and happy:

I would say that every day we have a good laugh. It is so important to laugh together and to feel safe. It is important to me that children feel safe with me. Subject knowledge? Oh that's important, we should also be smart good at our work and at our subject.

This linked into to her general aims for primary education which she saw as two-fold, combining good subject knowledge with personal development, within a secular, communitarian ideology which emphasised the importance of co-operation and good citizenship:

Two things – educating them well in all the subjects, that's one thing. The other thing is to be in a group, to respect other people, all the good human manners. I think that is very important and I think the parents can't give the children that, it is the school's responsibility. Educating a good human being, and a good citizen. Good moral code, though not in a religious way.

When asked about issues of accountability, Birgith considered that her first responsibility was to her pupils and, secondly, to their parents. However, this was very much limited by a professional confidence which saw her as the 'expert' in the relationship:

The children! Of course parents too, but first of all the children because the parents don't know what my job is. I will tell them about it and they can ask me all they want, the door is open but I am the one who decides what I am doing because that's what I'm good at! When I teach student teachers I say never defend yourself as a teacher but tell them what you are doing, explain, do not go on the defensive. This is what I am doing, explain what and why and then they (parents) will understand. I think that is very important.

When asked about the extent to which she felt accountable to the head teacher, Birgith's answer was more ambiguous:

The head teacher? Actually none because – well, perhaps I do. She is the person within the school who has ultimate responsibility if there is something wrong or I need her help. If I am doing something wrong and the parents call her or the students go to her, she will ask me what is all this about and I will explain. She will say I think we should do this or that. If I have a call from the parents and they argue with me I say, 'Stop this and we will arrange a meeting with the head teacher'. I will say to her I want you to be there as the person who is responsible for the whole school and as a third party, so that you can listen to the parents and to me and listen to what is going on here. In that way, we have responsibility to each other. But I see this as a moral question and mostly I feel responsible to the children. She (the head) is not there to check on me, she is there for the staff, the children and the parents and she has to have a good overview and she is very good at it.

Birgith also considered that she had a joint responsibility for her pupils which went beyond the school gates. She was part of a community responsibility for the

children's upbringing which included teachers, parents and pedagogues from the School/Freetime Organization [skolefritidsordning, SFO] and included a strong social dimension:

> I feel a responsibility for the children outside school, but it is not only my responsibility. I think the child is in the middle and around them are the parents, the school and the teachers, and the pedagogues at the SFO. We are the adults who are taking care of the child. So, I make time to talk with the pupils individually and ask them, 'How are you getting on in school, how are you at home?'. 'Do you have any friends, is there something going on at home that I can help you with? Something you want to talk with me about?' The parents know that, so I consider that we have a responsibility for the child in the whole of their life when we are around them. It is broader than just giving knowledge especially in the early years.

The Danish concept of *dannelse* [see Section 2.7 in Chapter Two of the thesis], which has no direct equivalent in English, encompasses this view of education as a social, as well as cognitive, project. Despite the relatively poor results of Danish pupils in large international surveys, Birgitte was convinced of its continuing relevance in today's society:

> *Dannelse* is about how to behave when you are in a group, what language it is appropriate to use with other people, 'Can you say Nigger to a black boy? Is that good manners?' But it is also broader than that. When we compare our children with other nationalities we are not, maybe, such good readers and writers and mathematicians, but we have a lot of knowledge about the whole world and I think it is very good. To concentrate and to go deeper and deeper into some areas of debate, to find out. I think it is important that they learn to be responsible for pollution, *et cetera*, to have an opinion about it. It is about being a good person, a good human being, a good citizen, a good parent, a good co-worker, and so on.

9.4(iii) Impact of Policy

As a consequence of her long experience in teaching, Birgith had noticed changes within society which were causing policy makers to reassess the work of the *folkeskole*. She was beginning to experience the impact of the greater curriculum demands being made on teachers and had a general concern with regard to the reduction in the number of lessons available for the study of Danish history and culture. Birgith regarded this as detrimental to the general Gundtvigian aims of the Danish education system:

We used to have many more lessons devoted to Danish culture but these have been reducing. It has been calculated that twenty years ago pupils had 1000 more Danish lessons during the ten grades they spent at *folkeskole* than they have today. I think this is a problem because literature, singing, and music are important. Previously, learning songs would play an important part in Danish lessons. The time for this has now been restricted because other lessons have pushed it out and the school hours have reduced. We are now discussing having more lessons again. I think they could take one or two more lessons in grades two and three than they do now. Then we would have more time to do the same but in a more relaxed way and we could put in songs and more funny stuff so they would enjoy learning more. Now, if we do what we are supposed to, we don't have time.

This concern with a curriculum which was more subject orientated and had less space for creative teaching was also related, for Birgith, to the space and time that was available to her for developing close relationships with her pupils. Though unsure about the extent of the change she was especially concerned as the *klasselærer* of young pupils who she believed needed support and understanding in their home lives, as well as with their school work:

...you don't have time and then you don't <u>listen</u> to what they are saying, usually there are lots of hands saying 'Me too, Me too' and there is no time. I could do with more Danish lessons, I would like to have more. Maybe it is because I am a class teacher and so Danish culture and discussion are important because I need to be close to my students, and I don't think that I have enough time to listen to them. They might want to tell me about their little dog or something. I think I had more time to listen to them before but I am not sure as it is some time since I was teaching the little ones because I have been teaching the older ones and been teaching abroad so I am not really sure if I did have more time. I think with the older children they don't need me so much.

This pressure within the curriculum was exacerbated, for Birgith, by increasingly demanding parents and a requirement to engage in more joint planning and team work. She considered that she now needed to spend more time in meetings and that these could increase the length of the working day:

Pressure from the parents is increasing - it's not the teaching, that is perfect, it is all the other things. We have a lot of planning meetings that we didn't used to. Team work is good but it is demanding. We used to do it, but now we <u>have</u> to do it. I think it is good to work in teams but we want the hours for it. Sometimes I am here from eight in the morning to four in the afternoon. Some days we are here for ten or eleven hours - what about our preparation and planning? Some days it can be meetings, meetings, meetings. They take place in the afternoon and sometimes in the evenings. Sometimes I have to be here three times a day - I'm here in the morning (to teach) and I go home. I come back a 3 o'clock for a meeting and then I go home and come back at 7 pm for another meeting.

A more specific concern for Birgith was the proposal to create an 'integrated' or 'whole school' day by enabling closer working relationships between the lower

grades of the *folkeskole* and the after school SFO. Schools were being encouraged both by central government and their local municipalities to discuss ways in which the existing school curriculum could be interspersed with periods of play, thus extending the school day. Birgith had clear reservations about its educational or social value and admitted to a certain professional distance on the part of *folkeskole* teachers to their colleagues in the SFO:

> Currently there is a big discussion in Denmark about the 'integrated' or 'whole school' day' which will include working closely with the pedagogues from the SFO - especially the teachers in the younger grades. We would be required to be in school from 8 am to 3pm and school work would be mixed with play. At the moment pupils come to school at 8am and the younger ones finish by 12.00 or 1pm. Then they go to the SFO until their parents pick them up. But they play there, and the adults are there to help them if they need any help but mostly they just let them play.

As well as considering that the role of the *folkeskole* teacher and the pedagogue to be complementary but different, Birgith was also concerned about the ability of young children to cope with such a regime:

> I think it is very important that a child is a child, and I don't think that they should work for more than four hours. You can see that they get tired by the end of the day and, if they were supposed to play as well, they would get tired playing too. If you run around playing football you get tired and then you have to work with writing or maths or whatever from two to three o'clock. I don't think that is correct. I think the young children should work for four hours and then they are free to do what they like.

However, although conscious of the pressure from the government and the municipality, Birgith was sure of her own professional judgement and confident that teachers' views would need to be taken into account before any major policy change could be effected:

> The government wants us to do it and our own community wants us to do it, but we don't want to do it. Not in their way and they cannot make it a statutory responsibility because they would never get away with it. I mean we are the ones who would need to make it work and we know what is possible. But there are many opinions about it - teachers don't agree. But, they will not make it policy until the Union agrees and I don't think they will do, because so many teachers don't like the idea.

9.5 Summary

These data reveal the everyday experiences of three teachers working in two contrasting Danish *folkeskoler*, which were perceived to be well-managed, popular

with parents, and providing a sound educational experience for their pupils. The teachers had been selected, through discussion with their head teachers and colleagues at the local initial teacher education college who knew their work, to be broadly representative of teachers who could be regarded as able, experienced and committed to their work. For the purposes of the study, it was important to exclude teachers who were demonstrably 'atypical' for such reasons as training, personality, background or experience. Thus, the data collected from the study teachers was designed to be as 'typical' of the experiences of the majority of their colleagues in Denmark as the size of the sample would allow.

The buildings and facilities exhibited by both schools, though contrasting in their situation and surroundings, could be regarded as representative of those experienced by a majority of pupils across Denmark. The classroom environments were similar and, despite a lack of curriculum information and displays of pupils' work than those in England, they were well-resourced and individually adapted, with sufficient space for the number of pupils in each class.

The flat management structures, with high levels of individual teacher autonomy, were also typical of many schools in Denmark, as was the inclusive nature with which they worked with parents, and other professional and community colleagues. The arrangements of small teams of teachers, led by a *klasselærer*, which were responsible for a particular class of pupils was also typical, though the joint nature of this responsibility for Karen and Niels was an emerging rather than a widespread development. The personal timetables for all three teachers displayed a variety of pupil contact and a balance of teaching with non-teaching time which contrasted sharply with the conditions experienced by their English colleagues.

Despite differences in the initial training, length of service, and position on a chronological career path, the evidence which Karen, Niels and Birgith provided was surprisingly consistent. All three teachers were committed to an holistic approach to the curriculum which included joint teaching, project work and the inclusion of topics which had a relevance to their pupils. They also laid great emphasis on the personal and social development of their pupils, whom they considered needed to learn to work together in preparation for active citizenship. Karen, Niels and Birgith were also keen to ensure good communications with the parents of their pupils and the other community and professional colleagues with whom they shared responsibility.

Their approach to these relationships was influenced by a confident professionalism which saw themselves as having an expert voice with regard to the process of teaching and learning. Though they appreciated that changing social circumstances were impacting on their work, they remained confident that, as a group of workers supported by a strong Teachers' Union, change would not be imposed from outside but would be strongly influenced by their professional judgement.

The final section of this thesis, Part III, discusses the theoretical and methodological implications of the study. Chapter Ten refers back to the research questions and reviews the concepts of globalization and national identity. It revisits the theoretical perspectives on teacher professionalism and professional identity and draws some conclusions about the impact of policy on teachers' work. Chapter Eleven discusses the strengths and limitations of the study, makes some suggestions about future research and ends with a final conclusion drawn from the study as a whole.

PART III

CONCLUSIONS AND WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

'Teaching must remodel itself to keep up to date....
We also want to see teachers themselves increasingly setting the reform agenda.'

[Estelle Morris, UK Secretary of State for Education, 2001]

10. CHAPTER TEN – A FINAL ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

10.1 Introduction

This chapter reassesses the findings of the study and evaluates their significance in relation to the two research questions posed in Chapter One of the thesis. It reviews the concepts of 'globalization' and 'national identity', in relation to the role expectations placed on primary teachers in England and Denmark, and then reflects on theories of teacher 'professionalism' and 'professional identity'. It relates the experiences of the five case study teachers to the cultural and historical origins of their two schooling systems, and reviews the findings of the study in the context of current practice. Finally, it draws some conclusions concerning the current thrust of educational reform in England and the impact of policy on the 'effectiveness' of the schooling process, and the 'quality' of teaching and learning in the classroom.

10.2 The Influence of Globalization and National Identity on Primary Teachers' Work

Evidence from the study supports the view that, though the concept of the 'primary class teacher' has universal elements, in practice it is both historically and culturally bound [Broadfoot *et al.* 1993, Osborn & Broadfoot 1993, Alexander 1999]. This suggests that theories of a deep-rooted cultural identity [Mallinson 1975, Archer 1984, Hedetoft 1999] based around the outward signs of a nation state, for example a common language and a common history, continue to influence current policy and practice. However, evidence from the study also suggests that the authority of the nation state is being challenged, both internally and externally, as a result of social and economic change. Increased pressure for local autonomy has strengthened affiliations to national sub-groups based on identities such as gender, race, religion

and language [Hall *et al.* 1993]. This means that it is becoming more difficult in a globally connected world, even in a country as homogenous as Denmark, for national identity to be seen in terms of an 'organic, natural collective loci of belonging' [Hedetoft 1999:83]. This study has provided some evidence that, as a result, education policies aimed at common global concerns over pupil attainment and general skill levels within the population [Green 1997, Held *et al.* 1999, Green *et al.* 1999] are influencing current national agendas. Common concerns focused on changing social patterns have also created new pressures for schools and increased expectations with regard to their aims and purpose. Case study data, discussed in more detail in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, suggest that headteachers and teachers in both England and Denmark are concerned with the fragmentation of society, the rise in individualism and the lack of sufficient time for teachers to engage with the moral, spiritual and personal development of their pupils. However, an important finding of the study was that these concerns, and the opportunity which teachers have to address them, are mediated, within the two countries, by differences in national policy and school organization which, in turn, has given rise to two different sets of role expectations for their class teachers.

Despite the fact that both sets of teachers operated within 'classrooms' and interacted with a group of pupils referred to as a 'class', these more obvious similarities disguised significant differences with regard to pedagogy and practice. Two different 'models' of the primary class teacher were found to exist which, in essence, could be traced back to their differing ideological roots [see Section 2.7 in Chapter Two of the thesis]. The evidence suggests that, in the English system, the role expectations placed on primary teachers have been influenced by a concern with discipline, a belief in innate differences in individual ability, and a clearly delineated hierarchy of

knowledge. In contrast, the Danish *klasselærer* is the result of role expectations which include an emphasis within Danish society on social cohesion, the collaborative nature of learning, and an encyclopaedic view of knowledge. This has allowed for a more even balance between the demand for high academic achievement and the development of personal and social skills. Despite earlier widespread professional support within England for a more holistic, 'Plowdenesque' approach to the work of the primary class teacher [CACE 1967], evidence from both government documentation and the case study teachers suggests that current policy is again emphasizing issues of discipline, assessment and a concentration on the formal teaching of basic literacy and numeracy skills. In contrast, the collective nature of Danish society continues to give prominence to the need for close, on-going relationships between pupils and their teachers [made manifest through, for example, the use of first names for both pupils and teachers], which is further extended to the parents of their pupils who remain closely involved with the class group and its teacher as their children move through the *folkeskole* [Ravn 1994]. Typically then, the primary teacher in England is expected to deal with a relatively large group of pupils [approximately 26-32], covering the whole of their curriculum needs for, usually, a single school year. Whereas, in Denmark, the *klasselærer*, typically, works with two or three other colleagues to cover the spread of a flexibly interpreted curriculum with a considerably smaller group of pupils [approximately 16-20] for, potentially, their entire time at the *folkeskole* [9 or 10 years].

Such organisational differences are further enhanced by differences in the physical environment. A Danish investment in relationships and attention to the emotional and social aspects of schooling were demonstrated in the case study schools by a higher

standard of accommodation and provision of social spaces than was evident in the English schools. Though this showed itself generally - in the classrooms, corridors and administrative offices - it was particularly noticeable in respect of the level of staff room accommodation provided for teachers [see Appendices IX, X, XI and XII]. To the outside observer this investment in the aesthetic and social aspects of the working environment appeared to create a blurring of the boundaries between the demands of teaching and learning, and the personal and social growth of staff and pupils, which increased the collaborative nature of the schooling process.

In summary then, the role expectations placed on the two sets of teachers by the communities which they served had some global and universal elements. However, they were also heavily influenced by the national context and culture.

10.3 Teacher Professionalism and Professional Identity

Chapter Three of the thesis discussed various theories of teacher professionalism and its evolution from a structural/functionalist concept to one which relies more on individual and collective identities. From this perspective, professionalism is not a set of occupational aims to be striven for, but a set of values and aspirations which can be either enhanced or restricted through government policy-making [Hoyle 1995, Hoyle & John 1995, Hargreaves 2000]. In a speech which set out the vision of the present government for development of the teaching profession in England, the Secretary of State maintained that society's faith in the professions had changed and set out six characteristics necessary for a 'modern' profession:

> Gone are the days when doctors and teachers could say, with a straight face, 'trust me, I'm a professional'. So we need to be clear about what does constitute professionalism for the modern world...We would look for six characteristics to be present in a modern profession. There should be:

- high standards at key levels of the profession, including entry and leadership, set nationally and regulated by a strong professional body;
- a body of knowledge about what works best and why, with regular training and development opportunities so that members of the profession are always up to date;
- efficient organization and management of complementary staff to support best professional practice;
- effective use of leading edge technology to support best professional practice;
- incentives and rewards for excellence, including through pay structures; and
- a relentless focus on what is in the best interests of those who use the service - in education, pupils and parents - backed by clear and effective arrangements for accountability and for measuring performance and outcomes.

[Morris 2001:19]

It can be argued that this view of a 'new professionalism' includes a great deal of external control and a managerially-orientated framework which relies on educational outcomes [test results] to evaluate effectiveness. It lends weight to a public policy discourse which centres on a new work order and heralds a new form of public management which has relinquished an older, bureaucratic form of governance in favour of marketization and managerialism [Menter *et al.* 1997, Robertson 1994]. These dominant discourses create particular role expectations for teachers which are then interpreted and assimilated into their everyday practice. The findings of this study support the critique that, within England especially, such expectations are becoming increasingly dependent upon an externally imposed apparatus of behavioural objectives, assessment and accountability, leading to a proliferation of paperwork and administrative tasks, as well as chronic work overload [Ozga 1988, Apple 1986, Woods *et al.* 1997, Osborn *et al.* 2000, Smyth *et al.* 2000].

There were common concerns expressed by the head teachers and teachers in both countries concerning the changing nature of society and a noticeable increase in teacher workload. However, a comparison of the daily workloads of the five case study teachers uncovered a large discrepancy between the two national contexts, not only in the total amount of hours worked but also the way in which that time was

divided between various activities. Using data from the teacher reflective diaries, Table 10.1 has been adjusted to correct for exceptional entries which would have made it difficult to make direct comparisons [e.g. holiday working, sick leave, bank holidays and school camp]. However, other atypical, though recurring, entries such as parents' evenings, report writing, extra-curricular clubs, INSET training, and the supervision of student teachers have been included in the calculations to illustrate the variation in 'normal' working hours, especially in the case of teachers in England:

Table 10.1 A Comparison of Teacher Working Hours

	England		Denmark		
Teacher Activity	**Jane**	**Sarah**	**Karen**	**Niels**	**Birgith**
Teaching	21.86	17.15	16.22	15.20	17.17
Planning	9.62	4.95	16.11	15.41	12.57
Marking	2.43	4.91	0.14	0.00	0.79
Pastoral	1.60	4.31	2.36	1.72	1.88
Meetings: school/staff	4.13	4.40	1.08	1.08	1.32
Paperwork	3.07	12.01	0.00	0.37	0.89
Extra-curricular/school duties [*inc. assemblies in England*]	1.86	2.75	0.98	5.41	4.70
CPD/student teacher supervision	3.25	3.75	1.22	1.08	1.32
Average weekly hours	**47.82**	**54.23**	**38.11**	**40.27**	**40.64**

In this way, it has been possible to create an average weekly total for each of the teacher activities which, despite the limitations of such a small-scale sample and the necessary adjustments needed for the purposes of comparison, provides some useful information concerning equivalent teacher workloads. These data have been further represented in Figure 10.1 to highlight some important contrasts. The first, most striking feature, is the difference in the total number of hours worked by the teachers in both countries. The case study teachers in England were working, on average, between ten and fourteen hours a week longer than their Danish colleagues. This finding is supported in relation to the working hours of teachers in England by a

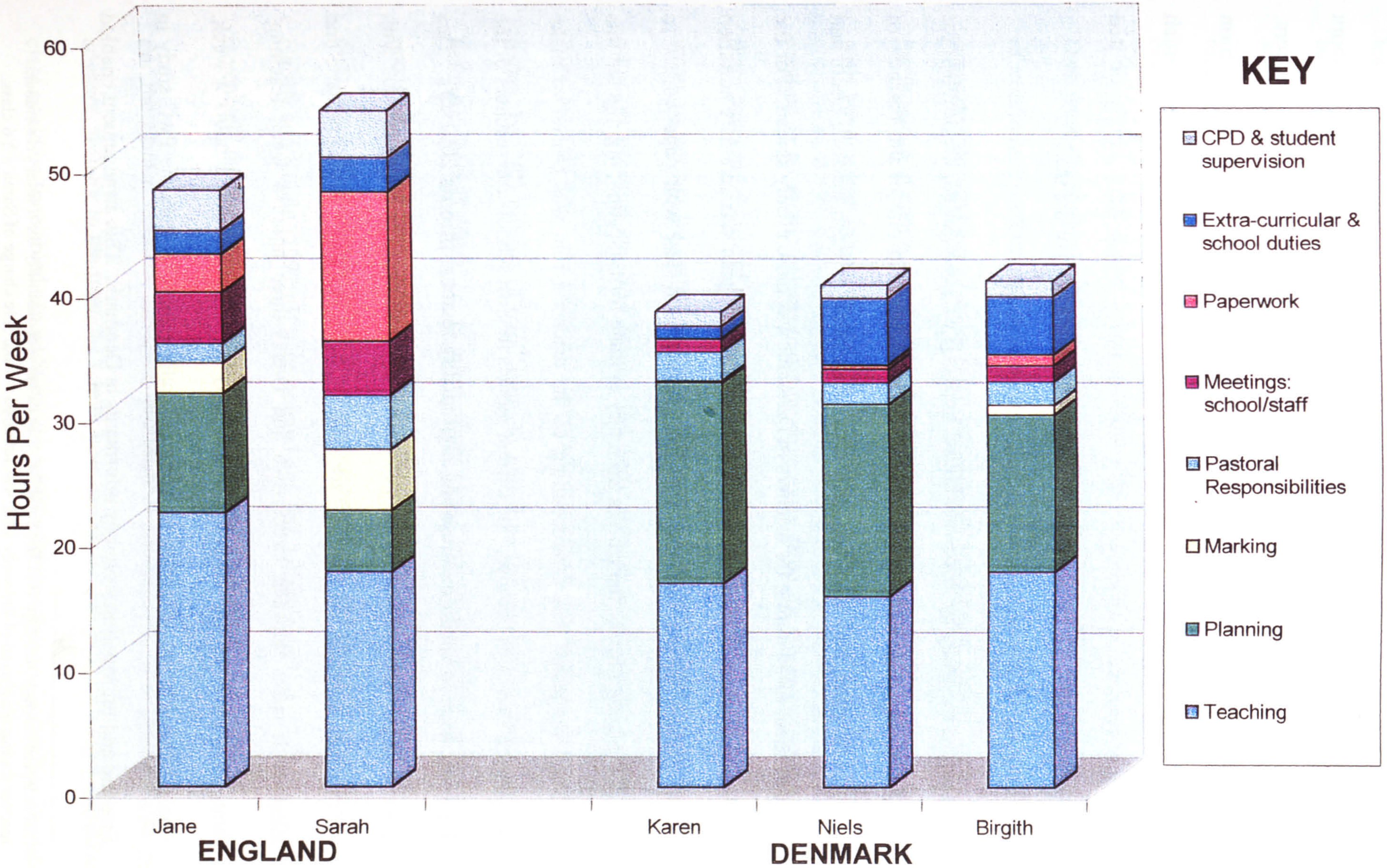


Figure 10.1 A Comparative Breakdown of Average Activity Times

recent, large-scale teacher workload study carried out in England for the DfES which gave the average working week for primary teachers as 52.8 hours [PricewaterhouseCoopers 2001]. Interview evidence from head teachers, teachers, and key informants at the Danish Ministry of Education and the Danish teacher union [*Danmarks Lærerforening*] also supported the data collected from the three Danish case study teachers in relation to their working hours, which were strictly limited within a national working time agreement [see Section 5.9(vi) of the thesis].

However, as the study by PricewaterhouseCoopers [PwC] recognised, the problem for teachers in England was not just one of quantity, but also one of the balance of activities in which they were engaged. The relationship between teaching hours and time available for planning for teachers in Denmark was more evenly spread. For the case study teachers in England, however, their ability to plan was seriously curtailed by the amount of time needed to attend meetings and deal with paperwork. In England, Estelle Morris, the current Secretary of State for Education, highlighted this when she suggested that a remodelling of the teacher's role was crucial to make progress on standards because, 'the current models in most schools rob teachers of the time they need to spend on preparing high quality lessons' [Morris 2001:23]. This issue is further exacerbated by the need for primary teachers in England to be with their classes, and actively teaching, for most of the school day. Typically, Jane and Sarah both spent between twenty-two and twenty-three hours a week teaching[1] though Karen, Niels and Birgith averaged only sixteen to seventeen hours a week. Again these data are supported as being generally typical by both the PwC study in England and information from key informants in Denmark. This arrangement enabled

[1] This figure is lower in Table 10.1 for Sarah because of her responsibility for a final year student teacher during the period of the study who was required to take sole charge of Sarah's Y6 class.

teachers in Denmark to spend more of their time during the school day on other activities, and reduced the need for work to be done at home, in the evenings and at weekends. Both Jane and Sarah spent time in the evenings and at the weekend marking pupils' work: a task which was totally absent from the diaries of Karen and Niels who operated in a less assessment-orientated system.

Data from the study also revealed some concerns over the provision and accessibility of continuing professional development [CPD] for the teachers in England, which supported the findings of more extensive research [McMahon 1999]. For Jane and Sarah, much of their engagement with CPD was reactive and prompted by compliance with government initiatives and the immediate needs of the classroom. This had resulted in an erratic pattern of single days away from the classroom which caused them concern because of missed teaching time with their classes and lack of progress when supervised by supply teachers. This had particular relevance with regard to pupil performance and SAT testing and was a tension alluded to by Estelle Morris when she said that, '..we recognise that much depends on the ability to free teachers to undertake CPD outside of pupil time, to minimize the disruptive effects on pupils' learning' [Morris 2001:22]. In terms of her longer term motivational and intellectual needs, Jane had been obliged to undertake study for her Masters Degree in the evenings, adding further to the drain on her emotional and physical resources. As Helsby and Knight [1997:15] have pointed out, this 'unsupported' and '*ad hoc* and do-it-yourself' model of professional development can take its toll.

For the Danish teachers, however, professional development was planned well in advance, usually in the previous school year, so that sufficient time away from their class could be timetabled. In addition, the nature of the team structure within Danish

schools meant that there was much less concern over a potential lack of continuity for pupils' learning. This is an important issue to consider because if pupils are to be encouraged to be lifelong learners they need to see it modelled effectively by their teachers.

For Jane and Sarah these workload pressures left them with feelings of frustration and 'failure' because of their perceived inability to satisfy the open-ended nature of the role, which could have an adverse effect on their home and personal lives.

Karen, Niels and Birgith, in contrast, appeared to be relatively free from external directives and displayed elements of a 'new professionalism' based on a great deal of professional autonomy. They had considerable individual agency when it came to decisions over curriculum and pedagogy, unencumbered as they were with a set of external testing parameters. The Danish teachers were also able to include both pupils and parents in their discussions over the content, pace and focus of learning. Bell has suggested that, in working so closely with parents, Danish teachers had created an alternative concept of teacher professionalism that:

> Compared teachers not to doctors, with their assumed depths of secret incommunicable knowledge and authority, but to the equally respectable architects or lawyers who take their clients' instructions, deploy their expertise to advise and caution but always, ultimately, place themselves at their clients' disposal. They take the view that, whereas a hundred years ago parents needed to have things decided for them by teachers, after a century or more of universal education that should no longer be necessary.
>
> [Bell 1988]

This is close to the concept of 'open professionalism', which was developed during the 1970s in work for the OECD and enshrines the idea that:

> ...the modern teacher, at the focal point of rapidly changing and highly demanding educational policies, needs to be both open to communal influence and co-operation - with colleagues, the school, on-going research and developments, parents, the community - and to receive respect as an individual professional.
>
> [OECD 1990:44]

Such 'respect as an individual professional' can be illustrated in the professional lives of Karen, Niels and Birgith by the negotiations over workload at school level, as well as a confidence that government policy would be consensual and informed by existing practice, enabling them to resist challenges to their expertise with a professional confidence which was lacking for their colleagues in England. Jane and Sarah considered that educational priorities were being imposed upon them from outside and that this was leading, in some respects, to a loss of autonomy and personal fulfilment. There was some evidence that they were struggling to hold on to their commitment to the affective and pastoral needs of their pupils, while at the same time being set ever increasing targets for achievement in national testing, thus reflecting the findings of the PACE study [Pollard *et al.* 1994, Osborn *et al. 2000*].

In contrast, a similar concern with pupil achievement in Denmark had resulted in policy demands for teachers to focus on a differentiated approach to teaching [1992 *Act of the Folkeskole*]. This was largely the result of a disappointing level of Danish pupil achievement in international studies [Winther-Jensen 2000] and, though this presented tensions for Karen, Niels and Birgith with regard to group cohesion, they also recognised that the policy was a confirmation of existing good practice which needed to be embraced by teachers. The issue of differentiated teaching was not regarded as a externally-driven change but something which had developed from government sponsored projects within schools which had benefited from a great deal of professional input from teachers.

This evidence suggests that the concept of teacher 'professionalism' is not static but strongly influenced by national context and personal circumstance. It is as Helsby maintains:

> .....a complex and dynamic concept which is constructed in the everyday realities of teachers' working lives....it is these lived realities, as well as the wider external influences, which shape the meaning of professionalism in practice.
>
> [Helsby 1995:146]

The precise form and operational nature of an individual teacher's work is a complex balance between imposed structure, or given role, and the accumulation of teacher choice based on professional judgement and individual agency. These influences feed off each other such that individual teacher agency can, in turn, change the culture and context in which a group of teachers work and so influence the operation of the role which has been ascribed to them. Evidence from the study suggests that this dialectical relationship can be represented as two concentric circles, separated by a permeable membrane, allowing influence and interaction in both directions:

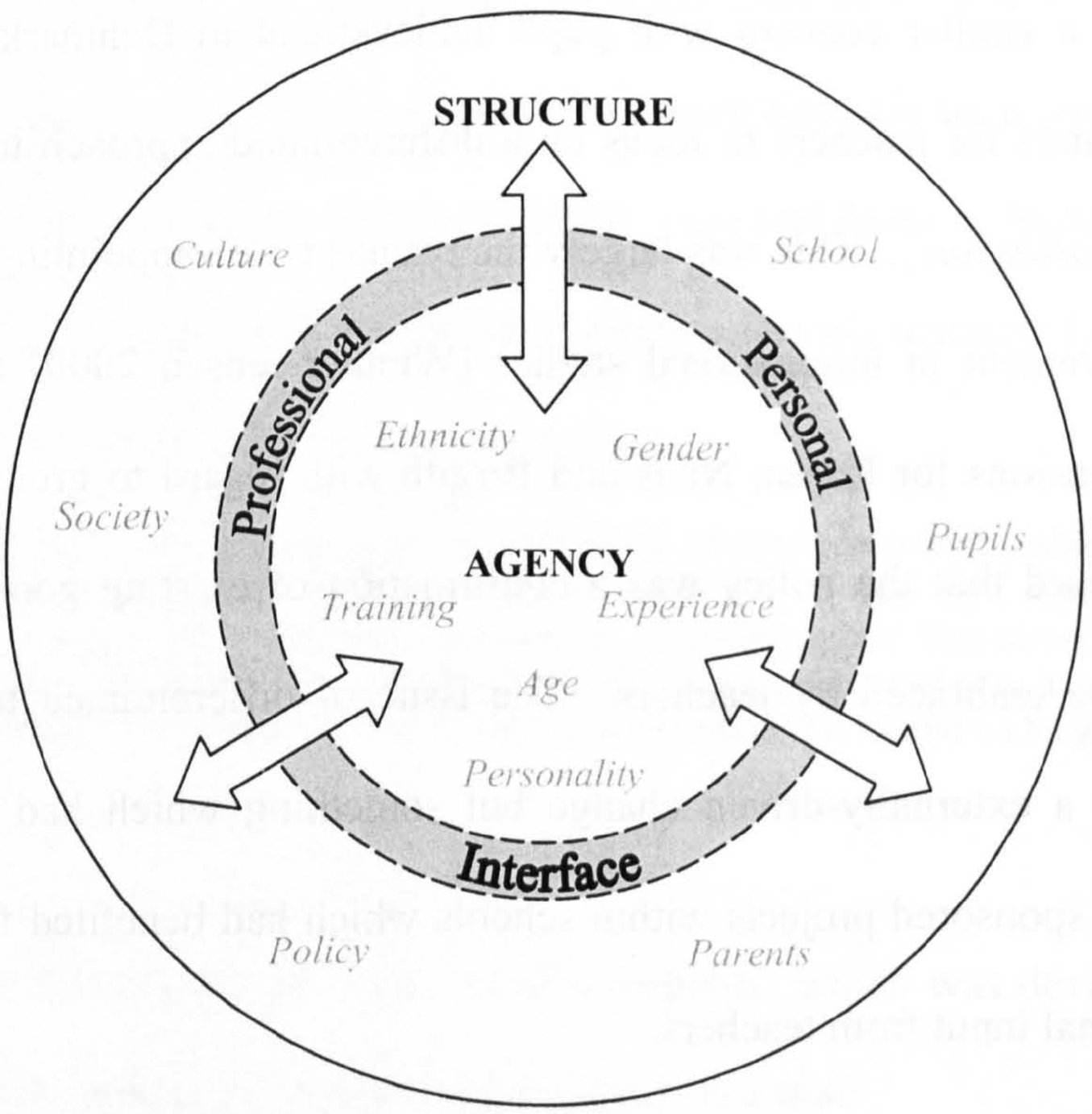


Figure 10.2 The interaction between structure and teacher agency

While the influences which impact on teacher agency can be the result of such issues as personal biography, age, gender and ethnicity, the structure within which they work

is influenced by government policy, school context, pupil attributes and parent expectations. It is at this interface between the personal and the professional that an individual 'professional identity' is forged. However, the study has also demonstrated that, while there are common, universal elements to such an identity, it also encompasses national and cultural differences which can be represented as a nested concept with a common core [see Figure 6.1 in Chapter Six of the thesis].

In terms of a 'professional identity' then, for Jane and Sarah there was some evidence that this was becoming fragmented. It was torn between an official discourse which emphasized technical and managerial skills, and their strongly-held personal views which emphasized the importance of an emotional commitment to the affective dimension of teaching [Nias 1989, Hargreaves, A. 1998, Osborn *et al.* 2000]. Sarah's disquiet with the implementation of the Literacy Hour can be seen as the result of her prior values and professional identity which was being challenged and undermined by external constraints.

10.4 The Implications for 'Effectiveness' and 'Quality' in Teaching

Currently, within England, there is some evidence that an emphasis on a teacher-centred approach to learning and a tightly 'framed' and prescriptive curriculum, combined with pressure from national testing and an emphasis on target-setting for both individuals and schools, have all helped to create a more 'effective' environment in terms of the measured attainment of pupils [OFSTED 2002]. More general developments such as an increasing central specification concerning the competencies of beginning teachers, the establishment of an OFSTED inspection framework which defines 'quality' in education by looking at specific educational processes, and the control of externally imposed definitions of outputs through the dissemination of

published tables of pupil results in national testing can also be seen to have contributed to the recent assertion of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools that '...the quality of education is getting better. The proportion of unsatisfactory or poor teaching is the lowest it has ever been' [OFSTED 2002:18].

However, evidence from this study suggests that, for Jane and Sarah, the tightening of the pedagogic frame, through initiatives such as the Literacy and Numeracy Hours, together with the pressure from testing requirements, had impacted on the time and space available for them to interact in more informal, flexible and holistic ways with their pupils. There was also some evidence that the growing emphasis on literacy and numeracy had led to a diminishing of the time available to engage with subjects in the wider curriculum such as art, music and the humanities, something highlighted by the Chief Inspector [OFSTED 2002]. This was a concern for Jane and Sarah, not only because of the contribution such subjects could make to the personal, social and spiritual development of their pupils but also because they presented opportunities for the employment of a more developmental and informal approach to teaching and learning. For Jane and Sarah this had created a tension between the need to be 'effective', as defined by increasingly externally-driven, industrially-derived models of the role, and the need to hold on to those more affective aspects of their work, which were to do with relationships and the essential 'moral purposes at the heart of their professionalism' [Day 2001:11] which they saw as contributing to the 'quality' of their work. It can be argued that in terms of their pupils' academic achievement Jane and Sarah were more 'effective' than their Danish colleagues, encouraged as they were to demand a higher level of performance from their 10 year-old pupils. But what of the less easily measurable aspects of schooling which have been referred to as the 'soft' competencies of creative and flexible thinking, social skills and the ability to

work collaboratively? These may require a different approach, for as Darling-Hammond argues:

> If we want all students to actually learn in the way that new standards suggest and today's complex society demands, we will need to develop teaching that goes far beyond dispensing information, giving a test, and giving a grade. We will need to understand how to teach in ways that respond to students' diverse approaches to learning, that are structured to take advantage of students' unique starting points, and that carefully scaffold work aimed at more proficient performances.
>
> [Darling-Hammond 1996:7]

This commitment to a social-constructivist approach to learning [Vygotsky 1978, Bruner 1996, Rogoff 1990, Lave & Wenger 1991] which values an affective relationship with pupils which builds confidence and supports them in constructing their own insights and understanding could be under threat. For Jane and Sarah there was some evidence that, at a time when teachers are being strongly encouraged to work together in more flexible, creative teams, their ability to use such strategies with their pupils in the classroom is being severely hampered by the demands of the national curriculum and testing. This is at odds with research which suggests that, as well as high levels of knowledge, it is these very attributes of creative thinking, self-motivation and an ability to communicate and collaborate which employers regard as the necessary skills of the future [Nicholson & Moss 1990].

Taken together these findings support the view that teachers in England, unlike their colleagues in Denmark, are becoming subject to a Bernsteinian 'performance' model of practice, which governs not only the inputs and processes but also the outputs of education [see Table 3.1 of the thesis]. An increasingly tight 'classification' of the primary curriculum into clearly delineated subjects, a strengthening of the 'framing' of teachers' work so that there is less autonomy and less choice over approaches to pedagogy, and the designation of times and spaces for particular purposes are all clear indicators in this respect [Bernstein 1996]. Evidence from the study also suggests that

this has created frustrations for teachers with regard to issues of professional discretion. Within England, policy supported by the inspection service [OFSTED], has demanded compliance with a set of procedural and organizational frameworks that have prioritised the former, economically 'effective' performance-model of teaching. However, at the same time, the changing nature of a more diverse and fragmented society has increased the demands made on teachers to engage with the broader view of their role, as exemplified by Bernstein's competence-model, which has given rise to professional tensions in daily practice. Table 10.1 lists these tensions in terms of their academically-focused and affectively-focused aims:

Academically-focused Aims	**Affectively-focused Aims**
Concern with the 'learner'	Concern with the 'whole child'
Emphasis on subject knowledge	Emphasis on personal development
Concern with high academic achievement	Concern with active citizenship
Focus on discrete subjects	Focus on cross-curricular projects
Emphasis on individual achievement	Emphasis on group co-operation
Common achievement level	Differentiated teaching

Table 10. 1 Current Tensions within Teaching

This study has provided some evidence that, within Denmark, there is more general agreement between policy-makers, teachers and parents about the balance between these two approaches. Whereas, in England, there is some evidence that an emphasis on 'effectiveness' and performance has led, not only to an increased workload, but also for some teachers to feelings of inadequacy and exhaustion as they try to reconcile the academically-orientated demands made on them with a broader, more affectively-orientated 'profesional identity'. Bernstein has alluded to some possible reasons for this exhaustion when he speaks of the 'hidden costs' involved in the competence-based model of teaching:

> The teacher often has to construct the pedagogic resources; evaluation requires time in establishing the profile of each acquirer; and in discussing projects with groups, socializing parents into the practice is another requirement; establishing feedback on the acquirer's development (or lack of it) is a further time cost. Within the institution extensive interaction between teachers over the practice is required for purposes of planning and monitoring, as the structure is constructed rather than received. These hidden costs are rarely explicitly recognized and built into budgets, but charged to the individual commitments of teachers. This lack of recognition of hidden costs may lead to ineffective pedagogic practice because of the demands of the practice, or, if these are met, the lack of recognition may give rise to ineffectiveness because of the fatigue of the teachers.
>
> [Bernstein 1996:63]

The pedagogic environment in which Karen, Niels and Birgith work appears to recognise these demands and allow time for such activities as planning, formative assessment, monitoring, collaboration with colleagues, and 'socializing' discussions with parents and pupils. Whereas, for Jane and Sarah a policy discourse which pays no attention to these 'hidden costs' may have led, as Bernstein suggests, to 'ineffective pedagogic practice' due in large part to their fatigue and frustration.

The reforms to teachers' pay and career structure, heralded in the 1998 Green Paper *Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change*, together with evidence from the Hay McBer Report [DfEE 2000a] into teacher effectiveness, are largely based on the assumption that it is possible, and desirable, to judge an individual teacher's performance in relation to explicit criteria [such as tests results] which largely ignore issues of time and space, and the important part played by stable, on-going individual relationships between pupils and their teachers.

The legitimacy of a prescribed curriculum which offers equity for learners is not in question. However, this thesis contends that the teacher's role should go beyond mere implementation. Evidence from this study suggests that Jane and Sarah were more professionally constrained and, as a consequence, less personally fulfilled than their Danish colleagues because of a set of requirements which interfered with their emotional commitment to the improvement of the 'quality' of their pupils' learning

experience despite changing circumstances [Osborn *et al.* 2000]. As Day [2001:11] reminds us, 'Such emotional commitments are part of teachers' substantive, professional selves [Kelchtermans 1993], and integral to all teaching [Hargreaves 2001]'.

Failure of government policy to recognise and build on the potential inherent in such a latent professional identity could change the profile of those willing to come forward to train as teachers and damage the quality of learning in classrooms. In recent years, the maintained schooling system in England has lost around ten per cent of its teachers each year [OFSTED 2002]. This figure includes those who have retired but excludes the increasing numbers who are changing from full-time to part-time teaching. Of particular concern, is the statistic that over one in five Newly Qualified Teachers leave the profession during their first three years in teaching [OFSTED 2002]. Recent policy initiatives with regard to performance-related pay, fast-track career opportunities and a greater devolution of budgetary powers to schools appear unable to stem this flow. Evidence from this study suggests that one reason for this may be a deterioration in the working conditions of teachers, both physical and professional, including a growing dissonance between the teaching role as defined by policy and the professional identity assumed by teachers as they become enculturated into their work. The highly prescribed and managerial nature of much current policy in England has imposed a structure on schools which has impacted on teachers' work to increase workloads but decrease their ability to concentrate directly on issues of teaching and learning: creating, perhaps, a pedagogical law of diminishing returns, in a micro-managed environment.

10.5 Summary

This study has sought to investigate the work of primary class teachers in two comparative, national contexts. It has found evidence that, while there are universals with regard to policy and practice, the specific structural and organisational patterns of individual national schooling systems are the result of their differing historical and ideological antecedents. However, there was also some evidence that these existing structures are currently subject to influence from more fragmented, local identities which, in turn, are changing and evolving the national culture.

The study also found evidence that the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'professional identity' are not universal and static, but individual and situated. They are strongly influenced not only by custom and practice but also by current policy and individual teacher experience. This had the potential to cause tensions for individual teachers, especially where current policy and individual professional priorities were in opposition. The case study teachers in England were experiencing a greater degree of such tension, largely as the result of policy initiatives which were restricting their professional discretion and influencing their daily pedagogical practice. Despite this, there was also some evidence that this relationship between policy and practice, or schooling structure and teacher agency, was not one-way but dialectical in nature, such that teachers could 'creatively mediate' [Osborn 1996] policy in order to retain a certain freedom over their everyday work. However, this could have a personal cost which left teachers with feelings of fatigue and frustration, and had the potential to be detrimental to the government's aims of remodelling and revitalising the teaching profession. Evidence suggests that this could also have an adverse effect on future levels of teacher recruitment and retention.

Finally, evidence from the study was used to revisit the interpretation of teacher 'effectiveness' and teaching 'quality' within the English context. It concluded that while economic and managerial 'effectiveness' could be demonstrated, to some degree, by increasing pupil attainment in national tests such measures tended to ignore those affective elements of teachers' work which were to do with relationships, and the personal and social development of pupils. This, in turn, had impacted on the 'quality' of the teaching and learning process which had become heavily academically-focused, leaving little room for pedagogical strategies which included creativity and collaborative working; attributes which are increasingly necessary in a contemporary working environment.

Chapter Eleven of this thesis makes an assessment of the strengths and limitations of the study and draws some conclusions about the value and relevance of small-scale, comparative case study research in informing policy and practice. It also makes some suggestions for further research and ends with a final conclusion drawn from the findings of the study.

11. CHAPTER ELEVEN – STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

11.1 Introduction

This study has used a small-scale, comparative case study approach to investigate a national concern: the effect of current policy-making on primary teachers' work. It has used a socio-cultural framework to illuminate the antecedents of two differing models of the primary class teacher in order to understand more fully the impact of education policy-making on the work of teachers in England and Denmark. This final chapter of the thesis discusses the strengths and limitations of the study, with particular reference to the generalisability of its findings. It then suggests some areas of further research and ends with a final conclusion drawn from the findings of the study.

11.2 The Strengths and Limitations of the Study

All research must, to some degree, involve compromise. Constraints of time, money and expertise ensure that a balance has to be struck between investigating every available case of a particular phenomenon, on the one hand, or selecting a single representative of such a population on the other. Debate continues with regard to the competing merits of large-scale, quantitative investigation using a scientifically-determined sample of the total research population to maximise objectivity, with those of small-scale, qualitative investigation, which provide 'thick description' [Geertz 1973] and what Stenhouse has referred to as 'critical intersubjectivity'. However, in order to design and operationalise any research study, choices have to be made and an important part of the research process is to consider what impact such choices have on the outcomes of a study and any claims to 'truth' which are made for its findings.

This study has sought to engage with a comparative methodology which has been designed to augment data from five representative case studies with findings from larger-scale, related research, and reflections from key informants at various levels of the policy-making process. This has created what I have referred to as an 'iterative filter' of data collection, from the macro policy level to individual teacher experience. Such a process has also been reflexive in the sense that recursive loops of on-going data analysis have fed emerging issues back from the micro level to the national and global.

I would argue that the study has five major strengths. The first is the high degree of internal validity created by the ethnographically-influenced case study approach which has involved the detailed and on-going examination of the working conditions of five classroom teachers. Electronic mail communication and regular fieldwork visits have been used to collect fieldnotes, interview data, classroom observation, and data from teacher reflective diaries. This has helped to identify themes and issues which have then been subject to an iterative process of on-going respondent verification, enabling the teachers to comment on, and respond to, both their own personal interview data and the more general findings of the study as they emerged. This has not only strengthened claims to internal validity but has allowed for a constant reiteration and discussion of emerging issues with all five teachers and their colleagues, so that meaning could be found which would extend beyond the immediate boundaries of the case study contexts. Triangulation with headteacher interviews and school documentation has allowed any contradictions which arose in the data from the various sources to be examined and further clarified. Such rich

detail would have been difficult to achieve in a survey analysis of teacher attitudes and working practices.

The second major strength of the study has been the link between the micro level of individual teacher experience with the macro level of national policy making. This has been done at both a conceptual and an empirical level with data gathered through the analysis of documentary evidence and interviews with key informants. Regular, on-going relationships were formed with key informants in both countries who were able to act not only as critical friends, but also as cultural and linguistic mediators. This helped to ensure a high degree of conceptual and linguistic equivalence and enabled data analysis at both the macro and the micro level to be connected. Issues which emerged through documentary analysis at the national and international level, such as teacher 'effectiveness', could be traced through to their impact on individual teachers. Conversely, issues important to individual teachers, such as the 'quality' of their work and their relationships with pupils, could be generalised to the national and international context. This strength underlines the potential of small-scale qualitative research to illuminate the gap between policy intentions, as they are expressed through government documentation, and the way in which policy is mediated and implemented by individuals. Such data can also alert policy-makers to the possible unintended consequences of their initiatives, which can be particularly important when policies are 'borrowed' from different cultural settings [Le Métais 2000].

A third strength of the study has been the use of existing, related research findings in both informing the study's research design, and adding value to its findings. In this way, findings from the PACE study were extended into the Danish context by means of a preliminary survey. At the same time, data from the case study teachers'

reflective diaries added detail to, and in turn gained a certain level of generalisabilitiy from, the PricewaterhouseCoopers' workload study and interview data from Danish key informants.

The fourth strength of the study is that, in order to guard against taken-for-granted assumptions, it included two comparative dimensions. One dimension was cross-cultural and investigated the practices and experiences of teachers within another national system; Denmark. Thus collaboration with Danish key informants enabled 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives [Crossley & Vulliamy 1997] to be compared and helped to guard against researcher bias and address any ethical issues arising from the imposition by an 'outsider' of stereotypical cultural perspectives. The other comparative dimension was socio-economic, incorporating as it did schools from contrasting catchment areas in both countries. Though this contrast was more relevant to the English context than the more homogenous communities in Denmark, it did allow a degree of intra-national comparison which again helped to guard against stereotypical assumptions or preconceptions.

The final strength of the study was its direct and on-going engagement with users, which enabled dissemination of the findings to both key informants at national and local level, and the headteachers and teachers within the case study schools.

However, the limitations of the study must also be acknowledged. The first of these relates to its small-scale. The preliminary survey though useful in identifying issues was unable to make use of any interpretative, statistical analysis. Only two teachers in England and three teachers in Denmark took part, directly, in the case studies. This meant that issues to do with such individual differences as age, gender, training,

experience or ethnicity could not be explored. It also meant that the case study schools, while chosen to be broadly representative of the national experience, could not be identified as such statistically and were located in one specific area in each country. The key informants were also, to some extent, an opportunistic sample in that, while representing various levels of the policy process, they did not constitute a true statistical sample.

My superficial understanding of the Danish language was also a limitation to the study in terms of access to the theoretical literature. Despite the fact that much of the Danish government documentation was produced in English translation, and the fact that Danish academics regularly contribute to English language educational literature, my access to the current educational debate within Denmark had its limitations. However, this also created an additional strength to the study. In asking the Danish teachers and key informants to explain their systems and practices in English, it was necessary for them to consider very precisely what was meant by certain taken-for-granted terms. This produced some very interesting discussions about why particular practices had developed.

Some caution must, therefore be employed in any attempt to generalise the findings while, at the same time, recognising the potential power of such small-scale studies to inform and contextualize the findings from larger quantitative surveys.

11.3 Some Areas for Further Research

The findings of the study have raised questions which could be the focus for further study. One set of questions relate to the role of the teacher as a 'significant adult',

other than a parent, who can be used as a resource by pupils to build confidence and help develop positive learner identities. How important is the relationship between teacher and pupil in determining the way in which children perceive themselves as learners, either successful or unsuccessful? What impact does the relative stability of the Danish *klasselærer* and the class group have on children's learning and how might this differ from children's experiences in the English class teacher system? What implications are there for the concerns which policy makers in England currently have over the transfer of pupils from primary to secondary school and a consequent dip in pupil performance? [OFSTED 2002]

A second set of questions relate to the role of parents and the ability of teachers to use, and build on, learning outside the classroom. There is a growing body of evidence that the involvement of both pupils and parents in educational decision-making can enhance both motivation and engagement with learning [MacBeath *et al.* 1995, Rudduck & Flutter 2000, Osborn *et al.* 2002]. What are the implications for pupil learning of the Danish consultative and consensual approach to education decision-making? Can parents and pupils be enabled to find a stronger voice in relation to decision-making within the English schooling system? What are the implications for the concept of teacher professionalism and teachers' professional practice of such a change in relationship between teachers, pupils and parents?

A final set of questions relate to issues surrounding teachers' working conditions, further professional development and concepts of professionalism. There was evidence from the study that primary teachers in England had heavier workloads than their colleagues in Denmark. Such issues have been raised in a recent set of recommendations by the School Teachers' Review Body [STRB 2002] but further

research could be carried out in relation to role of information and communications technology, and the use of support staff to ease this burden and enable teachers to focus on aspects of teaching and learning. Access to professional development and its relationship to professional practice, teacher autonomy and a consequent rise in professional confidence could also be explored.

11. 5 A Conclusion

To return to Kant's original proposition on page one of this thesis, the findings of this study seem to support his view that both government and education are difficult human activities with which to grapple. Teaching, in particular, is full of tensions and paradoxes:

> The feelings associated with teaching seem always to be contradictory. Successful teachers learn to keep them in balance, but even they swing, sometimes by the minute, between love and rage, elation and despair. To 'be' a teacher is to be relaxed and in control, yet tired and under stress: to feel whole while being pulled apart; to be in love with one's work, but daily to talk of leaving it. It is to learn to live with unresolved uncertainties, contradictions and dilemmas; to accept that the very nature of teaching is paradoxical.
>
> [Nias, 1989:191-2]

What it means to be a 'good' teacher is a complex mix of professional knowledge and skills, but it also includes an emotional dimension which is essential to the professional satisfaction and motivation of teachers [Nias 1989, Hargreaves 1994]. Evidence from this study suggests that all five teachers valued their ability to empathize and build close relationships with their pupils, which they saw as essential to their work as a teacher. This view finds echoes in society at large which continues to regard teachers not only as transmitters of knowledge but also as 'moral agents', requiring them to contribute to the social and personal development of children. As society becomes more fragmented, government policy continues to place an increasing burden on schools in terms of their role as agents of social cohesion. The

case study schools in both England and Denmark worked hard to establish stability and a caring ethos in which to support the work of staff and pupils alike. Yet, in England, the working conditions for teachers remained poor, both in terms of physical environment and workload. This suggests that at a time when school systems are being restructured to meet ever-increasing demands for accountability, for greater rationality and for technical competencies in teaching, the emotional and affective sources of professional satisfaction may be under threat as never before [Hoyle & John 1995]. It is hoped that the recent recommendations of the School Teachers' Review Body [STRB 2002] with regard to teachers' contracts will go some way to improving conditions for teachers in England. However, these recommendations make no mention of the physical conditions or size of groups in which teachers and pupils are expected to work: two areas which have found some significance in this comparative study.

In England, the role of the teacher of younger children has a history of re-modelling itself in response to government policy and differing approaches to child development [Taylor & Miller 1996]. A 'payment by results' model at the beginning of the 20th century later evolved by stages into the more holistic, 'Plowdenesque' model in the 1960s and 1970s. However, since the late 1980s continuing financial constraints have meant that a more economically-driven model of the 'learning manager' has been prominent in government policy discourse which has concentrated on a transmission approach to education. It regards knowledge as clearly delineated and susceptible to being broken down into constituent 'levels' so that it can be presented to learners in the most 'effective' way, in order to maximise predominantly academic goals. This has created tensions for teachers in England which are less apparent in the more consensual and evolutionary policy-making environment found in Denmark.

Typologies and polarities, by their very nature, distort the complexity of the daily reality experienced by teachers and pupils. The 'effective' and the 'affective' are not mutually exclusive and teachers will recognise elements of both 'competence' and 'performance' as they move through their careers. However, what is important is to look for trends and to recognise the unintended consequences of policy-making. A tendency to devalue the professional pedagogic skills of the teacher can result in what Habermas [1974] has referred to as an 'instrumental rationality' which establishes the best course of action not by reference to the best reasons, but with reference to the most efficient and effective course to achieved the desired ends. Sultana [1994] in his analysis of teachers' work, suggests that a technocratic rationality has become all-pervasive and hegemonic within Europe leading to a conceptualization of teachers' work as a skilled craft, based on technical expertise. This is at some odds with an older European tradition which regards education as a moral project and the teacher as a transformative intellectual; an attitude which has remained prominent in Denmark.

Economic pressure will continue and must be addressed. But, if 'quality' is to be maintained, recognition must also be given to the type of environment in which learning takes place and the degree to which learners and teachers alike perceive their role as active rather than passive. Both teachers and learners should be encouraged and enabled to think creatively and flexibly, and continue to do this through a lifetime of experience – attributes which are badly needed in a fragmented and changing world. An instrumental and pragmatic view of schooling has the potential to alienate both teachers and pupils who 'fail' to meet the externally imposed standards. We must be 'effective', economically, but, at the same time, we must not compromise those affective aspects of schooling which can help to ensure an active and

democratic participation in the development of knowledge and skills. The intention of government reform to raise the standards of pupil achievement cannot be isolated from the need to understand how the conditions for teaching, central to both job effectiveness and satisfaction, affect teachers' work. As Estelle Morris says, teaching must remodel itself to cope with new 21st century demands, but to avoid a teaching crisis we must see 'teachers themselves increasingly setting the reform agenda' [Morris 2001].

REFERENCES

ACKER, S. (1995) 'Carry on caring: the work of women teachers', British Journal of Sociology of Education Vol.16(1), pp. 21-36

ACKER, S. (1999) The Realities of Teachers' Work: Never a Dull Moment, London: Cassell

ALEXANDER, R. (1996) Other Schools and Ours: Hazards of International Comparison, Centre for Research in Elementary and Primary Education: University of Warwick

ALEXANDER, R. (1999) 'Culture in pedagogy, pedagogy across cultures', in R. Alexander, P.Broadfoot and D. Phillips Learning from Comparing: Volume One, Contexts, Classrooms and Outcomes, Wallingford Oxford, Symposium Books

APPLE, M. (1986) Teachers and Texts: a political economy of class and gender relations in education, London: Routledge

APPLE, M. (2001) 'Comparing neo-liberal projects and inequality in education', Comparative Education, Vol.37(4) pp. 409-423

ARCHER, M. (1984) Social Origins of Educational Systems, London: Sage

BACH P. AND CHRISTENSEN C. S. (1992) 'From Despair to Optimism: the Success Story of Danish Education', RSA Journal June, pp 443 to 451. London: RSA.

BALL, S. J. (1990) Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology, London: Routledge

BALL, S. J. (1994) Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach, Buckingham: Open University Press

BARNARD, N. and DEAN, C. (2001) 'Poised to unite for workload crusade' in the Times Educational Supplement, 20th April, p.4

BASCIA, N. (1994) Unions in Teachers' Professional Lives, New York: Teachers' College Press

BASSEY, M. (1999) Case Study Research in Educational Settings, Buckingham: Open University Press

BATHO, G. (1989) Political Issues in Education, London: Cassell Educational Limited

BECHER, A. and MACLURE, S. (1978) The Politics of Curriculum Change, London: Hutchinson

BEERNAERT, Y. and SANDER, T. (1994) 'Introduction: The European Dimension of Teacher Education Systems', in Sander, T. (ed.) European Yearbook of Comparative Studies in Teacher Education: Current Changes and Challenges in European Teacher Education, Brussels: European Commission

BELL, R (1988) 'A Different Kind of Democracy.' Times Educational Supplement (Scotland). January 22nd. London

BERLIN, I. (1997) 'The counter-enlightenment' Reprinted in H. Hardy & R. Hausheer (ed) Isaiah Berlin: The proper study of mankind, London: Chatto & Windus

BERNSTEIN, B. (1996) Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique, London: Taylor & Francis

BJERG, J. (1991) 'Reflections on Danish Comprehensive Education, 1903 - 1990' European Journal of Education, Vol 26(2) pp.133 - 141.

BJERG, J., CALLEWAERT, S., ELLE, B. MYLOV, P., NISSEN, T. and SILBERBRANDT, H. (1995) 'Danish Education: pedagogical theory in Denmark and in Europe, and Modernity', Comparative Education, Vol.31(1) pp.31-47

BLACKMORE, J. (1995) 'Policy as Dialogue: feminist administrators working for educational change', in Gender and Education, Vol.7(3), pp.293-314

BLACKMORE, S. (1999) The Meme Machine, Oxford: Oxford University Press

BLAIR, A. (1999) Speech delivered at the annual conference of the National Association of Head Teachers

BLUMER, H. (1969) Symbolic Interactionism: perspective and method, Englewood Cliffs: N.J.Prentice-Hall

BOARD OF EDUCATION (1943) Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools (Norwood Report), London: HMSO

BORRISH, S.M. (1999) The Land of the Living, Nevada City, CA: Blue Dolphin Publishing, Inc.

BOURDIEU, P. (1977) 'Cultural reproduction and social reproduction, in J.Karabel and A.H.Halsey (eds) Power and Ideology in Education, Oxford: Oxford Press

BOWE, R. and BALL, S.J. with GOLD, A. (1992) Reforming Education and Changing Schools, London: Routledge

BOWLES, S. and GINTIS, H. (1986) Democracy and Capitalism: property, community and the contradictions of modern social thought, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

BRANDT JENSEN, B. NIELSEN, M. and STENSTRUP, E. (1992) The Danish Folkeskole: visions and consequences, Copenhagen: The Danish Council for Educational Development in the Folkeskole

BRAVERMAN, H. (1974) Labour and Monopoly Capital, London: Monthly Review Press

BROADFOOT, P. (1990) 'Research on Teachers: towards a comparative methodology, Comparative Education, Vol. 26(2/3) pp.165-169

BROADFOOT, P. (2000) Culture, Learning and Comparison, BERA Stenhouse Lecture 1999, British Educational Research Association: Southwell, Notts.

BROADFOOT, P and OSBORN, M (1987) "Teachers' Conceptions of their Professional Responsibility: some international comparisons", Comparative Education, Vol.23(3) pp. 287-300

BROADFOOT, P. and OSBORN, M. with GILLY, M. and BÛCHER, A. (1993) Perceptions of Teaching: primary school teachers in England and France, London: Cassell

BROADFOOT, P., OSBORN, M., PLANEL, C. and POLLARD, A. (1994) 'Teachers and Change: a study of primary school teachers' reaction to policy change in England and France', in T. Winther-Jensen (Ed.) Challenges to European Education: Cultural Values, National Identities and Global Responsibilities, Berne: Peter Lang

BRONFENBRENNER, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human Development:experiments by nature and design, London: Havard University Press

BRUNER, J. (1996) The Culture of Education, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

CALLAGHAN, J. (1976) 'Towards a National Debate' Education Vol 148.pp. 332-333

CARLSON, D. (1992) Teachers and Crisis: Urban School Reform and Teachers' Work Culture, New York and London: Routledge

CARNOY, M. (1974) Education as Cultural Imperialism, New York: Longman

CARR, W. (1995) For Education: Towards Educational Inquiry, Buckingham: Open University Press

CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (England) (CACE) (1967) Children and Their Primary Schools, (The Plowden Report), London: HMSO

COHEN, L. and MANION, L. (1989) Research Methods in Education, 3rd Edition, London: Routledge

CONNELL, R. (1995) 'Transformative Labour: Theorizing the Politics of Teachers' Work', in Ginsburg, M. (ed.) The Politics of Educators' Work and Lives, New York and London: Garland

COX, C.B. and DYSON, A.E. (eds) (1969) Fight For Education: A Black Paper, London: Critical Quarterly Society

CROLL, P. (1996) (ed.) Teachers, Pupils and Primary Schooling, London: Cassell

CROLL, P., ABBOTT, D., BROADFOOT, P., OSBORN, M. and POLLARD, A. (1994) 'Teachers and Educational Policy: roles and models', British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 42(2), 333-47

CROSSLEY, M. (1999) 'Reconceptualising comparative and international education', Compare Vol. 29(3) pp.249-267

CROSSLEY, M and VULLIAMY, G (1984) 'Case Study Research Methods and Comparative Education', Comparative Education, Vol.20(2) pp. 193-205

CROSSLEY, M. and VULLIAMY, G. (1997) (eds) Qualitative Educational Research in Developing Countries, New York: Garland

DALE, R. (1989) The State and Education Policy, Milton Keynes: Open University Press

DALE, R. (1992) 'Recovering from a pyrrhic victory? Quality, relevance and impact in the sociology of education'. In M.Arnot & L.Barton (Eds) Voicing Concerns: sociological perspectives on contemporary education, Wallingford: Triangle Books

DALE, R. (1994) 'Applied education politics or political sociology of education? Contrasting approaches to the study of recent education reform in England & Wales. In D. Halpin & B. Troyna (Eds) Researching Education Policy: methodological & ethical issues, Lewes: Falmer Press

DARLING-HAMMOND, L. (1996) 'The quiet revolution: rethinking teacher development', Educational Leadership, Vol.53(6) pp.4-10

DAWKINS, R. (1978) The Selfish Gene, London: Granada

DAY, C. (2001) 'The challenge to be the best: research and the teacher'. The Michael Huberman Carfax Memorial Lecture, presented at the Tenth Biennial Conference of the International Study Association on Teachers and Teaching, Faro, Portugal, 21-25th September

DENMARK (1996a) 1992 Act of the Folkeskole (English language translation), Copenhagen: Undervisnings Ministeriet

DENMARK (1996b) Order on the Aims of the teaching in the Subjects and Obligatory Topics of the Folkeskole with Indication of Central Knowledge and Proficiency Areas (English language translation), Copenhagen: Undervisnings Ministeriet

DENMARK (2000) Quality Development in the Danish Folkeskole [KIF], (English language translation) Copenhagen: Undervisnings Ministeriet

DENSMORE, K. (1987) 'Professionalism, proletarianization and teachers' work', in T. Popkewitz (ed.) Critical Studies in Teacher Education, Lewes: Falmer Press

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT (1997) Excellence in Schools: a new approach, London: HMSO

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT (1998) Teachers - Meeting the Challenge of Change, London: HMSO

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT (2000a) Research into Teacher Effectiveness: a model of teacher effectiveness, Hay McBer Research Report No.216, London: HMSO

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT (2000b) Ill Health Retirement and Absenteeism Amongst Teachers, Research Report No.235, London: HMSO

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND SKILLS (2000) School Teachers' Pay and Conditions of Employment, London: DfES

DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND SKILLS (2001) Schools Achieving Success, London: HMSO

DREEBEN, R. (1988) 'The school as a workplace', in Ozga, J. (ed) Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labour Process of Teaching, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

ELLIOTT, J. (1991) 'A model of professionalism and its implications for teacher education', British Educational Research Journal, Vol.17 pp. 309-318

ELLIOTT, J., HUFTON, N., ANDERMAN, E. & ILLUSHIN, L. (1999) 'Factors influencing educational motivation: a study of attitudes, expectations and behaviour of children in Sunderland, Kentucky and St Petersburg', British Educational Research Journal, Vol.25, pp 75-94

FOUCAULT, M. (1980) Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977, edited by Colin Gordon, Brighton: Harvester Press

FREIRE, P. (1970) Pedagogy of the Oppressed, London: Penguin

FRIEDENTHAL-HAASE M. (1987) 'N F S Grundtvig and German Adult Education: some observations on the intercultural reception of theory', Studies in the Education of Adults. Vol 19 No l pp 13 to 25. National Institute of Adult Continuing Education: Leicester

FRIEDMAN, M. (1980) Free to Choose, Harmondsworth: League

GEERTZ, C. (1973) 'Thick Description: toward an interpretive theory of culture', cited in R. Bogdan and S.K. Biklen (1998) Qualitative Research in Education: an introduction to theory and practice, Third Edition, Boston: Allyn and Bacon

GEWIRTZ, S. and OZGA, J. (1990) 'Partnership, pluralism and education policy: a reassessment', Journal of Education Policy, Vol.5. No.1, pp.37-48

GIDDENS, A. (1990) The Consequences of Modernity, Cambridge: Polity Press

GIDDENS, A. (1991) Modernity and Self-Indentity, Cambridge: Polity Press

GINSBURG, M.B., MEYENN, R.J. and MILLER, H.D.R. (1980) 'Teachers' conceptions of professionalism and trades unionism: An ideological analysis', in P. Woods (ed.) Teacher Strategies, London: Croom Helm

GLASER, B. & STRAUSS, A. (1967) The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Chicago: Aldine

GLYNN JONES W. (1970) Denmark, London: Ernest Benn.

GOODSON, I.F. and HARGREAVES, A. (1996) (eds) Teachers' Professional Lives, London: Falmer Press

GRACE, G. (1987) 'Teachers and the state in Britian: a changing relation' in M. Lawn and G. Grace (eds) Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work, Lewes: Falmer Press

GREAT BRITAIN (1861) (The Newcastle Report) Report of the Commissioner appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England.

GREAT BRITAIN (1862) The Revised Code, Committee of the Privy Council on Education for the administration of grants to schools.

GREAT BRITAIN (1864) (The Clarendon Report)Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Revenues and Management of certain colleges and schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given therein.

GREAT BRITAIN (1868) (The Taunton Report) Report of the Royal Commission known as the Schools Inquiry Commission.

GREAT BRITAIN (1870) Elementary Education Act, London

GREAT BRITAIN (1944) The Education Act, London

GREAT BRITAIN (1988) The Education Reform Act, London: HMSO.

GREEN, A. (1997) Education, Globalization and the Nation State, London: Macmillan Press

GREEN, A. (1999) 'Education and globalization in Europe and East Asia: convergent and divergent trends', Journal of Education Policy, Vol.14(1) pp55-71

GREEN, A., WOLF, A. and LENEY, T. (1999) Convergence and Divergence in European Education and Training Systems, London: Institute of Education

GUITIERREZ, K. (1994) 'How Talk, Context and Script Shape Contexts for Learning: A Cross-case Comparison of Journal Sharing', Linguistics and Education, Vol.5 pp.335-65

GUITIERREZ, K., LARSON, J. and KREUTER, B. (1995) 'Cultural Tensions in the Scripted Classroom: the Value of the Subjugated Perspective, Urban Education Vol.29(4) pp.410-42

HABERMAS, J. (1974) Theory and Practice, Heinemann, London

HALL, R.K., HANS, N. and LAUWREYS, J.A. (1953) 'The social position of teachers'. In J.A. Lauwreys (1969) (ed) Essays in Comparative Education: Teachers and Teaching, London: Evan Bros.

HALL, S. (1987) 'Minimal Selves', in Identity: The Real Me, ICA Document 6, London: Institute of Contemporary Arts

HALL, S. (1990) 'Cultural identity and diaspora', in Rutherford, J. (ed.), Identity, London: Lawrence and Wishart

HALL, S., HELD, D. and McGREW, T. (eds) (1993) Modernity and Its Future, Cambridge: Open University Press/Polity Press

HALPIN, D. and TROYNA, B. (1995) 'The Politics of Education Policy Borrowing', Comparative Education, Vol.31 No.3, pp 303-310

HANDY, C. B. (1985) Understanding Organizations, 3rd Edition, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books

HANS, N. (1949) Comparative Education, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

HANS, N. (1959) 'A historical approach to comparative education', International Review of Education Vol.5 (3) pp 43-53

HARGREAVES, A. (1994) Changing Teachers, Changing Times, London: Cassell

HARGREAVES, A. (1998) 'The emotional practice of teaching', Teaching and Teacher Education, Vol.14(8) pp.835-54

HARGREAVES, A. (2000) 'Four ages of professionalism and professional learning', Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, Vol.6 (2) pp. 151-182

HARGREAVES, A. (2001) 'Emotional geographies of teaching', Teachers College Record, Vol.103(6) pp.1056-80

HARGREAVES, A. and GOODSON, I. (1996) 'Teachers' Professional Lives: Aspirations and Actualities', in Goodson, I. F. and Hargreaves, A. Teachers' Professional Lives, London: Falmer Press

HARGREAVES, D. (1994) 'The new professionalism', Teaching and Teacher Education, Vol.10 (4) pp.423-438

HARRIT, O., KRYGER, N., MOOS, L., REINSHOLM, N. and REISBY, K. (1992) Form Teachers – Tradition and Renewal, Copenhagen: The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies

HARVEY, D. (1990) The condition of post-modernity, Oxford: Blackwell

HAVIGHURST, R.J. and NEUGARTEN, B. (1962) Society and Education, 2nd Edition, New York: Allyn and Bacon

HAWKES, T. (1977) Structuralism and Seminotics, London: Methuen

HEDETOFT, U. (1999) 'The Nation-state Meets the World: National Identities in the Conext of Transnationality and Cultural Globalization', European Journal of Social Theory, Vol.2(1) pp.71-94

HELD, D., McGREW, A., GOLDBLATT, D. , PERRATON, J. (1999) Global Transformation. Politics, Economics and Culture, Cambridge: Polity Press

HELSBY, G. (1995) 'Teachers' construction of professionalism in England in the 1990s', Journal of Education for Teaching, Vol.21 pp.317-332

HELSBY, G. (1999) Changing Teachers' Work, Buckingham: Open University Press

HELSBY, G. and KNIGHT, P. (1997) 'Continuing professional development and the national curriculum', in G. Helsby and G. McCulloch Teachers and the National Curriculum, London: Cassell

HIRST, P. and THOMPSON, G. (1996a) 'Globalization: ten frequently asked questions and some surprising answers', Soundings 4

HIRST, P. and THOMPSON, G. (1996b) Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilites of Governance, Cambridge: Polity Press

HOBSBAWM, E. (1994) The Age of Extremes: the short twentieth century, 1914-1991, London: Abacus

HOYLE, E. (1969) The Role of the Teacher, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

HOYLE, E. (1980) 'Professionalization and deprofessionalization in education', in Hoyle E. and Megarry, J. (eds) The World Yearbook of Education, 1980: The Professional Development of Teachers, London: Kogan Page

HOYLE, E. (1982) 'The professionalization of teachers: a paradox?', British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol.30, No.2, pp161-171

HOYLE, E. (1995) 'Changing concepts of professionality', in Busher, H. and Saran R. (eds.) The Management of Professionals in Schools, London: Longman

HOYLE, E. and JOHN, P. (1995) Professional Knowledge and Professional Practice, London: Cassell

HUMMELUHR, N. (1998) The Transition from Initial Education in to Working Life, Copenhagen: Danish Ministry of Education

ILLICH, I.D. (1971) Deschooling Society, London: Harper & Row

JACKSON, P.W. (1968) Life in Classrooms, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston

JUDGE, H. (2000) 'Comparing Educational Professionals: an introductory essay', in Alexander, R., Osborn, M. and Phillips, D. (eds.) Learning from Comparing: new directions in comparative educational research, Volume Two, Policy, Professionals and Development, Oxford: Symposium Books

KANDEL, I, L (1933) Studies in Comparative Education, Boston: Houghton Mifflin

KANT, I. (1900) Uber Padagogik/On Education, trans. Annette Churton, Boston: D.C.Heath

KEMMIS, S. (1980) 'The imagination of the case and the invention of the study', in H.Simons (ed.) Towards a Science of the Singular, Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia

KELCHTERMANS, G. (1993) 'Getting the story, understanding the lives: from career stories to teachers' professional development', Teaching and Teacher Education, Vol. 9(5) pp.443-456

KNIGHT, C. (1990) The Making of Tory Education Policy in Post-War Britain, Lewes: Falmer Press

KOFMAN, E. & YOUNGS, G. (eds) (1996) Globalisation: theory and practice, London: Pinter

KOGAN, M. (1975) Educational Policy-Making: a study of interest groups and Parliament, London: Allen and Unwin

KRYGER, N. and REISBY, K. (1998) 'The Danish class teacher, the mediator between the pastoral and the academic', in Lang, P. with Katz, Y. and Menezes, I. (eds.) Affective Education: A Comparative View, London: Cassell

LARSON, S. M. (1980) 'Proletarianization and education labor', Theory and Society, Vol.9(1) pp.131-375

LAUGLO, J. (1990) 'Factors behind decentralization in education systems: a comparative perspective with special reference to Norway', Compare, Vol.20(1) pp.21-39

LAUGLO, J. (1995) 'Forms of decentralization and the implications for education', Comparative Education Vol.31(1) pp.5-30

LAVE, J. and WENGER, E. (1991) Situated Learning: legitimate peripheral participation, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

LAWN, M. (1988) 'Skill in schoolwork: work relations in the primary school', in Ozga, J. (ed) Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labour Process of Teaching, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

LE MÉTAIS, J. (2000) 'Snakes and Ladders: learning from international comparisons', in R.Alexander, M. Osborn and D. Phillips (eds) Learning from Comparing: new direcitons in comparative educational research, Volume 2, Oxford: Symposium Books

LEWIN, K. (1935) cited in U. Bronfenbrenner (1979) The Ecology of Human Development: experiments by nature and design, London: Harvard University Press

LIEBERMAN, A. and MILLER, J. (1984) Teachers, their world and their work: Implications for school improvement, Alexandria VA, ASCD

LIPSKY, M. (1980) Stree-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services, Russell Sage Foundation

LORTIE, D.C. (1975) Schoolteacher, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

MACBEATH, A., McCREATH, D., AITCHISON, J. (1995) Collaborate or Compete? Education Partnerships in a Market Economy, London: Falmer Press

MACLURE, J. S. (1979) Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816 to the present day, London: Methuen

MALLINSON, V (1975) An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education, 4th edn. London: Heinemann Educational

MARX, K. (1904) A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr

MARX, K., and ENGELS, F. (1965) The German Ideology, London:Lawrence & Wishart

McKENZIE, R.B. (1987) The Fairness of Markets, Lexington: Lexington Books

McLEAN, M. (1995) Educational Traditions Compared, London: David Fulton Publishers Ltd

McMAHON, A. (1999) 'Promoting continual professional development for teachers: an achievable target for school leaders?', in T. Bush, L. Bell, R. Bolam, R. Glatter and P. Ribbins (eds) Educational Management: Redefining Theory, Policy and Practice, London: Paul Chapman Ltd

McPHERSON, A. and RAAB, C. (1988) Governing Education: a sociology of policy since 1945, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

MEAD, G. H. (1934) Mind, Self and Society, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

MENTER. I., MUSCHAMP, Y., NICHOLLS, P., OZGA, J. and POLLARD, A. (1997) Work and Identity in the Primary School: A Post-Fordist Analysis, Buckingham: Open University Press

MERCER, M. (1997) Pre-university Education Finance in CEE and CIS Countries: re-drawing responsibilities, paper submitted to the Oxford International Conference on Education and Development, 'Education and Geopolitical Change', 11-15 September, New College, Oxford

MILLS, C. WRIGHT (1970) The Sociological Imagination, Harmondsworth: Penguin

MORRIS, E. (2001) Professional & Trust - the future of teachers and teaching. A speech by the Secretary of State for Education and Skills to the Social Market Foundation, 12 November, London: DfES Publications

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL MASTERS AND WOMEN TEACHERS (1998) Teachers' Contract: Working Time, Birmingham: NASUWT

NIAS, J. (1989) Primary Teachers Talking: A Study of Teaching as Work, London: Routledge

NIAS, J. (1996) 'Thinking about feeling: the emotions of teaching', Cambridge Journal of Education, 26(3) pp.293-306

NICHOLAS, E.J. (1983) Issues in Education: a comparative analysis, London: Harper & Row

NICHOLSON, M. & MOSS, D. (1990) 'Matching the Curriculum to the Needs of Industry', Education and Training. Vol.32(6) pp. 3-8

NORRIS, N., ASPLAND, R., MacDONALD, B., SCHOSTAK, J. & ZAMORSKI, B. (1996) An Independent Evaluation of Comprehensive Curriculum Reform in Finland, Helsinki: National Board of Education

OFSTED (1999) The individual school reports have not been identified by name for reasons of confidentiality

OFSTED (2002) Standards and Quality in Education 2000/2001, The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, London: The Stationery Office

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (1990) The Teacher Today, Paris: OECD

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (2001) Teacher Demand and Supply: Improving teaching quality and addressing teacher shortages, Paris: OECD

OHMAE, K. (1990) The Borderless World: power and strategy in the interlinked economy, London: Collins

OSBORN, M. (1996) 'Teachers mediating change: Key Stage 1 revisited', in P. Croll (ed.) Teachers, Pupils and Primary Schooling, London: Cassell

OSBORN, M. (2001) 'Constants and contexts in pupil experience of learning and schooling: comparing learners in England, France and Denmark, Comparative Education, Vol.37(3) pp.276-278

OSBORN, M. & BROADFOOT, P. (1993) 'Becoming a Teacher: The Influence of the National Context' European Journal of Education. Vol.28(1) pp.105-116

OSBORN, M. with CROLL, P., BROADFOOT, P., POLLARD, A., McNESS, E. and TRIGGS, P. (1997) 'Policy into Practice and Practice into Policy: creative mediation in the primary classroom' in G. Helsby & G. McCulloch (eds) Teachers and the National Curriculum, London: Cassell

OSBORN, M., McNESS, E., and BROADFOOT, P. with POLLARD, A. and TRIGGS, P. (2000) What Teachers Do: changing policy and practice in primary education, London: Continuum

OSBORN, M., BROADFOOT, P., McNESS, E., PLANEL, C., TRIGGS, P. and RAVN, B. (2002) A World of Difference: comparing learners across Europe, Buckingham: Open University Press

OSTERGÅRD U. (1993) 'Language and National Identity in the Danish Nation-State in the 19th Century', History of European Ideas. Vol 16, No 1-3, pp 213-218. London: Pergamon

OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY (1981), Oxford: Oxford University Press

OZGA, J. and LAWN, M. (1981) Teachers, Professionalism and Class: A Study of Organised Teachers, Lewes: Falmer Press

OZGA, J. (1988) (ed.) Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labour Process of Teaching, Milton Keynes: Open University Press

PARLETT, M. and HAMILTON, D. (1977) 'Evaluation as illumination: a new approach to the study of innovatory programmes', in D. Hamilton, D. Jenkins, C. King, B. MacDonald and M. Parlett (eds) Beyond the Numbers Game, Basingstoke, MacMillan Education Ltd.

PHILLIPS, D. (1989) 'Neither a borrower or a lender be? The problems of cross-national attraction in education', Comparative Education Vol.25, pp. 267-274

PHILLIPS, D. (1992) 'Borrowing education policy', Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, Vol.2 No.2, pp. 49-55

PIGNATELLI, F. (1993) 'What Can I Do? Foucault on Freedom and the Question of Teacher Agency', Educational Theory, Vol.43(4) pp.411-32

POLLARD, A., BROADFOOT, P., CROLL, P., OSBORN, M., and ABBOTT, D. (1994) Changing English Primary Schools? The Impact of the Education Reform Act at Key Stage One, London, Cassell

PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS (2001) Teacher Workload Study, Final Report 5th December, London: PricewaterhouseCoopers

RAVN, B. (1994) 'Expectations about parents in education in Scandinavian countries', in A. Macbeth and B. Ravn (eds) Expectations about Parents in Education: European Perspectives, Glasgow: University of Glasgow

REICH, R.B. (1992) The Work of Nations: preparing ourselves for 21st century capitalism, New York: Vintage Books

REISBY, K., KRYGER, N., MOOS, L. and REINSHOLM, N. (1994) 'The tasks of the class teacher – traditions and renewals, The Journal for Pastoral Care and Personal and Social Education, Vol.12(1) pp.27-33

RILEY, K.A. (1992) 'The Changing Framework and Purposes of Education Authorities', Research Papers in Education, Policy & Practice, Vol 7, No 1 March. pp 3-13

ROBERTSON, R. (1995) 'Globalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity', in M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds) Global Modernities, London: Sage

ROBERTSON, S. L. (1994) 'Teachers' Labour and Post-Fordism: an Exploratory Analysis', in Kenway, J. (ed.) Economising Education: the Post-Fordist Directions, Geelong, Deakin University Press

ROBERTSON, S. L. (1996) 'Teachers' Work, Restructuring and Postfordism; Constructing the New 'Professionalism', in Goodson, I. F. and Hargreaves, A. Teachers' Professional Lives, London: Falmer Press

ROGOFF, B. (1990) Apprenticeship in Thinking: cognitive development in social context, Oxford, Oxford University Press

ROSENAU, J. N. (1997) Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

RUDDUCK, J. and FLUTTER, J. (2000) 'Pupil participation and pupil perspective: 'carving a new order of experience', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol.30(1) pp.75-89

SADLER, M. (1900) 'How can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education?', in J. H. Higginson (ed.) (1979) Selections from Michael Sadler, Liverpool: Dejall and Meyorre

SALTER, B. and TAPPER, E. (1981) Education, Politics and the State: the theory and practice of educational change, London: Grant McIntyre

SCHOOL TEACHERS' REVIEW BODY (2000) Ninth Report 2000, London: The Stationery Office

SCHOOL TEACHERS' REVIEW BODY (2002) Special Review of Approaches to Reducing Teacher Workload, London: The Stationery Office

SHULMAN, L. (1989) 'Teaching alone, learning together: needed agendas for new reforms'. A paper prepared for the conference on restructuring schooling for quality education, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas

SCHUTZ, A. (1964) 'The stranger: an essay in social psychology', in Brodersen, A. (ed.) Studies in Social Theory, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff

SCRUTON, R. (1986) 'Authority and allegiance' in J. Donald and S.Hall (eds) Politics and Ideology, Milton Keynes: Open University Press

SHARP, P. and DUNFORD, J. (1990) The Education System in England and Wales, London: Longman

SHARPE, K. (1992) 'Catechistic Teaching Style in French Primary Education: an analysis of grammar lessons with seven-year-olds', Comparative Education, Vol.28(3) pp.249-268

SHILLING, C. (1989) Schooling for Work in Capitalist Britain, London: The Falmer Press

SMYTH, J., DOW, A., HATTAM, R., REID, A. and SHACKLOCK, G. (2000) Teachers' Work in a Globalizing Economy, London: Falmer Press

SNOW, D. and ANDERSON, L. (1987) 'Identity Work Among the Homeless: the Verbal Construction and Avowal of Personal Identities', American Journal of Sociology, Vol.92 pp.1337-71

SPINDLER, G. and SPINDLER, L. (1987) 'Cultural Dialogue and Schooling in Schoenhausen and Roseville: A Comparative Analysis, in Anthropology & Education Quarterly, Vol.18 (1), pp.3-16

STAKE, R. E. (1995) The Art of Case Study Research, London: Sage

STENHOUSE, L. (1979) 'Case Study in comparative education. Particularity and generalisation, Comparative Education, Vol.15, pp 5-10

STENHOUSE, L. (1980) Educating Teachers: changing the nature of pedagogical knowledge, Lewes: Falmer Press

STENHOUSE, L. (1985) Research as a Basis for Teaching: Readings from the work of Lawrence Stenhouse, edited by Jean Rudduck and David Hopkins, Oxford: N.H.Heinemann

SULTANA, R. (1994) 'Conceptualising teachers' work in a uniting Europe', Compare, Vol.24(2) pp.171-82

TAYLOR, F. W. (1911) The Principles of Scientific Management, New York: Harper and Brothers

TAYLOR, P. and MILLER, S. (1996) The Primary Professional, Birmingham: Educational Partners

THEISEN, G. & ADAMS, D.(1990) 'Comparative Educational Research', in R. Murray Thomas (Ed) International Comparative Education, London: Pergamon Press.

THOMAS, G. (1997) 'What's the Use of Theory?', Harvard Educational Review Vol.67:1, pp 75-104

USHER, R. and EDWARDS, R. (1994) Postmodernism and Education: different voices, different worlds, London: Routledge

VAIZEY, J. (1971) Education for Tomorrow, 5th Edition, Harmondsworth: Pelican Books

VYGOTSKY, L.S. (1978) Mind in Society, Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press

WALKER, R. (1985) Doing Research, London: Methuen & Co.

WALLER, W. (1932) The Sociology of Teaching, New York: Russell and Russell

WARWICK, D.P. and OSHERSON, S. (1973) (ed.) Comparative Research Methods, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc.

WATERS, M. (1995) Globalization, London: Routledge

WATSON, K. (2000) 'Globalisation, Educational Reform and Language Policy in Transitional Societies' in Mebrahtu, T., Crossley, M. and Johnson, D. Globalisation, Educational Transformation and Societies in Transition, Oxford: Symposium Books

WEBB, R., and VULLIAMY, G. with Hakkinen, K., Hamalainen, S., Kimonen, E., Nevalainen, R., Nikki, M. (1997) A Comparative Analysis of Curriculum Change in Primary Schools in England and Finland, York, Department of Educational Studies, Univ. of York

WELCH, A.R. (1993) 'Class, Culture and the State' in Comparative Education, Vol.29 (1) pp. 7-27

WERTSCH, J. (1985) Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

WERTSCH, J. (1991) Voices of the Mind, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

WERTSCH, J. V., DEL RIO, P. and ALVAREZ, A. (1995) (eds) Sociocultural Studies of Mind, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press

WEXLER, P. (1992) Becoming Somebody: Towards a Social Psychology of the School, London: Falmer Press

WIBORG, S. (2000) 'Political and Cultural Nationalism in Education, Comparative Education, Vol.36(2) pp.235-243

WINTHER-JENSEN, T. (2000) 'Cultural changes and schools in Denmark' in D. Coulby, R. Cowen and C. Jones (eds) World Yearbook of Education 2000: education in times of transition, London: Kogan Page

WOODHEAD, M., FAULKNER, D. and LITTLETON, K. (1999) (eds) Making sense of social development, London: Routledge

WOODS, P. and JEFFREY, B. (2002) 'The reconstruction of primary teachers' identities', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.23(1) pp.89-106

WOODS, P., JEFFREY, B., TROMAN, G. and BOYLE, M. (1997) Restructuring Schools, Reconstructing Teachers, Buckingham: Open University Press

WOODS P. and WENHAM P. (1995) 'Politics and pedagogy: a case study in appropriation', Journal of Education Policy, Vol.10(2) pp.119-141

YIN, R. K. (1984) Case Study Research: design and methods, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications

YIN, R. K. (1994) Case Study Research: design and methods, Second Edition, London: Sage

APPENDIX

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY

CASE STUDY DESIGN AND ETHICAL GUIDELINES

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Title: **A Socio-cultural Investigation into the Impact of Cultural Context and National Policy on Teachers' Work and Professional Values in England and Denmark**

Initial Research Question: To what extent is the work of the primary class teacher in England and the *klasselærer* in Denmark being re-shaped through current national government policy-making and what impact, if any, is this having on their working lives?

Main Aims of the Study:

- to understand more fully the cultural and historical influences which have shaped models of the role of the class teacher which currently exist in England and Denmark;
- to analyse the stated aims and objectives of current national government policy-making in relation to the developing role of the class teacher in both countries;
- to understand how policy-making is interpreted and mediated as it passes through the various levels of the two national schooling systems: local, school, classroom;
- to gain access to the daily working lives of two primary class teachers in England and two lower primary *klasselærer* in Denmark to gather information on their conceptions of their work and professional responsibility;
- to understand the impact which current national government policy-making is having on teaching and learning in the classrooms of these teachers; and
- to build upon the researcher's existing knowledge of schools, teaching and teachers within the two national contexts to illuminate some of the major issues facing teachers in their working lives as these evolve to meet new challenges.

Case Study Data:

This will be gathered by work-shadowing two experienced teachers [Year 6 or equivalent] in each country for a period of one week each. The researcher will identify two contrasting schools in each country: (i) one in an urban area of some social and economic disadvantage, (ii) one in a small town with a relatively 'middle class' catchment area.

Additional Data will be Collected as follows:

- Head teacher interview: to gain background information on the schools, to understand their aims for the pupils and investigate their views on the role of the primary class teacher.
- Class teacher interview: to gain background information about their biography, training and work history, their perceptions of their professional responsibility, their views on government policy, and their aims for their pupils.
- Teacher Reflective Diary: to *briefly* list, each week, time spent on various activities [teaching, planning, marking, meetings, etc.] and the major achievements/frustrations of the week.
- Key informant interview: periodic interviews will be conducted with decision-makers at various levels of policy implementation.
- Official documents: these will be collected at national, local and school level.

ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR THE STUDY

Introduction
These guidelines are intended to explain the procedures that will be adopted in order to protect the rights of individuals who may be involved in the study. The guidelines are set out as answers to questions that participants might want to ask.

What is the purpose of the study?
The purpose of the study is to build up a picture of the working lives of four 'typical' classroom teachers of 10-year-olds: two in England and two in Denmark. It aims to investigate the professional perspectives of the teachers and their head teachers in relation to the aims they have for the pupils in their care. These data will form part of a PhD thesis which will examine the changing role expectations of primary class teachers as expressed through national policy-making.

What kind of information will be collected?
Data will be collected through observation and work-shadowing, as well as an investigation of documentary evidence provided by the school. Two short interviews are also planned with the head teacher and class teacher in order to discuss in more detail the professional perspectives concerning the role of the class teacher and the aims of primary schooling.

Who will collect the data?
The data will be collected by Elizabeth McNess who has experience as a primary class teacher, teacher educator and educational researcher.

How will anonymity be preserved?
The resulting PhD thesis will be available to the student's adviser and her internal and external examiners. Once accepted, it will also be available for reference through the library of the University of Bristol, Graduate School of Education. The schools which take part in the study will be referred to by pseudonym only. Individuals will be referred to either by pseudonym or their role description. Any conference papers which result from the study will also preserve anonymity through the use of pseudonyms. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve the privacy of all who are touched by the research: pupils, parents, governors, school staff.

How will the researcher seek access to the information?

- The researcher will seek reasonable access to personnel working in participating schools.
- She will make herself easily accessible through email, regular visits and telephone calls, in order to answer procedural and other queries as they arise during the course of the study;
- Participants will be under no obligation to be interviewed and may withdraw from the study at any time;
- The researcher will treat all relevant interviews, meetings, oral and written exchanges with participants as 'one the record but confidential', unless specifically asked to disregard them;
- The researcher may wish to tape-record and transcribe interviews. If this is the case permission will be sought from participants beforehand;
- Participants will be given every opportunity to check and verify data collected, together with any subsequent writings;
- Participants views will be sought on the interpretations made by the researcher on the data collected.

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY
TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date: **Name:** **School:**

1. Biographical Details:

1.1 How many years have you been a teacher?
1.2 How long have you been in this school?
1.3 Did you have another career before becoming a teacher?
1.4 Could you tell me about your initial teacher education?
1.5 What are your teaching responsibilities in the school?
1.6 Could you describe you other responsibilities in the school?
[*curriculum, management, extra-curricular, links outside, break duty*]
1.7 Have you had any training for these additional roles?
[*quality, quantity, timing, appropriateness,etc.*]

2. Curriculum:

2.1 What are your priorities in working with the children in your class?
2.2 What developments do you hope to see in the children by the end of their time with you?
2.3 In your view, what are the most important factors that make for successful teaching/learning?
2.4 What do you think are the biggest influences on the way you plan and teach?
[*training, policy, personal philosophy, pragmatism*]
2.5 What external government/local authority expectations exist which may influence your teaching?
2.6 How do you think the curriculum requirements at KS2 are affecting your teaching and children's learning?
2.7 Curriculum manageability and teachers' subject expertise are recognised as major issues, particularly at KS2. Are they raising any issues for the way in which Y6 teaching is organised in this school?
2.8 Do you think that there is a place at all for some subject specialist teaching in the upper years of the primary school? If so, in which subjects?
2.9 How do you tell how well the children are doing?
2.10 How do you think the children feel about assessment?
2.11 Can you describe the arrangements that are in place in the school for the personal and social development part of children's education?
2.12 Do you experience any tensions between the academic and affective/pastoral elements of the curriculum?

3. Collegiality:

3.1 Can you describe the ways in which you work with other teachers in your school?
[*planning, teaching, extra-curricular, administration, management*]
3.2 Which colleagues do you work with most closely?
3.3 Are these ways of working new? Do you enjoy them? Do you find them helpful?
3.4 Do they present any problems/tensions?

4. Home/School Links:

4.1 How important do you think an understanding of pupils' lives outside school is to the way you teach and your role as a teacher?
4.2 What are the occasions when you meet the parents of the children?
4.3 What sorts of things do you discuss with the parents, What issues do parents raise?
4.4 How do you see the balance between parents' rights and responsibilities?
4.5 How would you describe parent/teacher relationships in this school?
4.6 What influence do you think the educational changes of the last few years have had on parent-teacher relationship?

5. Professional Roles and Responsibilities:

5.1 What does 'professional responsibility' mean to you as a teacher? To whom do you consider yourself responsible and what do you see as your professional responsibilities?

5.2 Do you think that your role as a teacher has changed at all as a result of the developments in primary education? [*NC, KS2 SATs, subject co-ordination*]

5.3 How far has the professional training you have received enabled you to meet the demands placed on teachers now?

5.4 Do you experience any tensions between different elements of your role? [*academic, pastoral, administrative, managerial*]

5.5 Do you consider that you/the school has responsibilities in relation to the children when they have left the school premises?

5.6 With all the developments which have been taking place in primary education, do you feel that your relationship with the children has been affected in any way?

5.7 What qualities do you feel make an outstanding teacher?

5.8

6. Policy:

6.1 What do you consider are the main aims of primary schooling.

6.2 What are the school's most important aims in relation to its pupils?

6.3 What impact has OFSTED had on your professional life?

6.4 Do you think that when pupils now in Y6 leave your school, they will have received a better or worse primary education than children who left before the introduction of the National Curriculum?

6.5 Realistically, how do you think primary education will develop in the next 5-10 years?

6.6 To what extent do you feel that you and your colleagues have an influence on the formation of education policy?

Thank you for taking part in this study. Are there any areas which you feel I have omitted to cover? Are there any additional comments which you would like to make?

EMMc/TINT2000

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY
HEADTEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date: **Headteacher:** **School:**

1. School Details:

1.1 What is the approximate number of pupils in your school?
1.2 How many teachers?
1.3 How many support staff?
1.4 Average class size?
1.5 Could you please give a brief sketch of the origins and development of the school?
1.6 How would you describe in general terms, the socio-economic background of the pupils who attend this school?
1.7 Could you describe the reputation you consider the school has now in the wider community?
1.8 How important are academic/SAT results to the reputation of this school?
1.9 What other aspects of the school do you consider are important to its reputation with parents and the wider community?

2. School Governance/Management:

2.1 Which are the major groups or committees which meet to decide school Issues?
2.2 How would you describe your relationship with the governing body?
2.3 Could you describe the amount and type of contact the school has with outside agencies? [*educational psychologist, social services, local business, police, etc.*]
2.4 What are your current priorities for developing the school? What are the major limitations to this?
2.5 What are your current priorities in relation to the pupils in this school? What are the major limitations to this?
2.6 To what extent do you consider these priorities are shared by teachers, pupils, parents governors and the local community?

3. Teacher's Role:

3.1 What, in your view, are the characteristics of a good KS2 teacher?
3.2 Have these needed to change in recent years?

4. Purpose of Education/National Policies:

4.1 What do you consider to be the main aims of primary education?
4.2 Do you think that when pupils now in Y6 leave your school, they will have received a better or worse primary education than children who left before the introduction of the NC?
4.3 How much influence do you feel you and your colleagues have over the creation of education policy?
4.4 Realistically, how do you think primary schooling will develop over the next five or six years?

Thank you for taking part in the study. Are there any areas which you feel I have omitted to cover? Are there any additional comments you would like to make?

EMMc/HINT2000

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY

OBSERVATION NOTES

Date: **Teacher:** **School:**

Time Fieldnotes

Comments/analysis:

Time Fieldnotes:

Commentary/analysis:

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY
CLASS TEACHER'S REFLECTIVE DIARY

Week beginning: ..... Teacher: ..... School: ....

Activity	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat	Sun	TOTAL
Curriculum								
Teaching								
Marking pupils' work								
Planning/preparation (individual)								
Planning/preparation (joint)								
Assemblies								
Pastoral								
Meeting with pupils[1]								
Meeting with colleagues								
Meeting with parents								
Meeting with outside agencies								
Administration								
Paperwork								
Full staff meetings								
Management meetings								
Governor/PTA[2] meetings								
Other								
Non-teaching duties								
Extra-curricular activities								
CPD/INSET/Students[3]								
TOTAL								

[N.B. Please record times to the nearest 15 minutes]

Explanatory Notes:

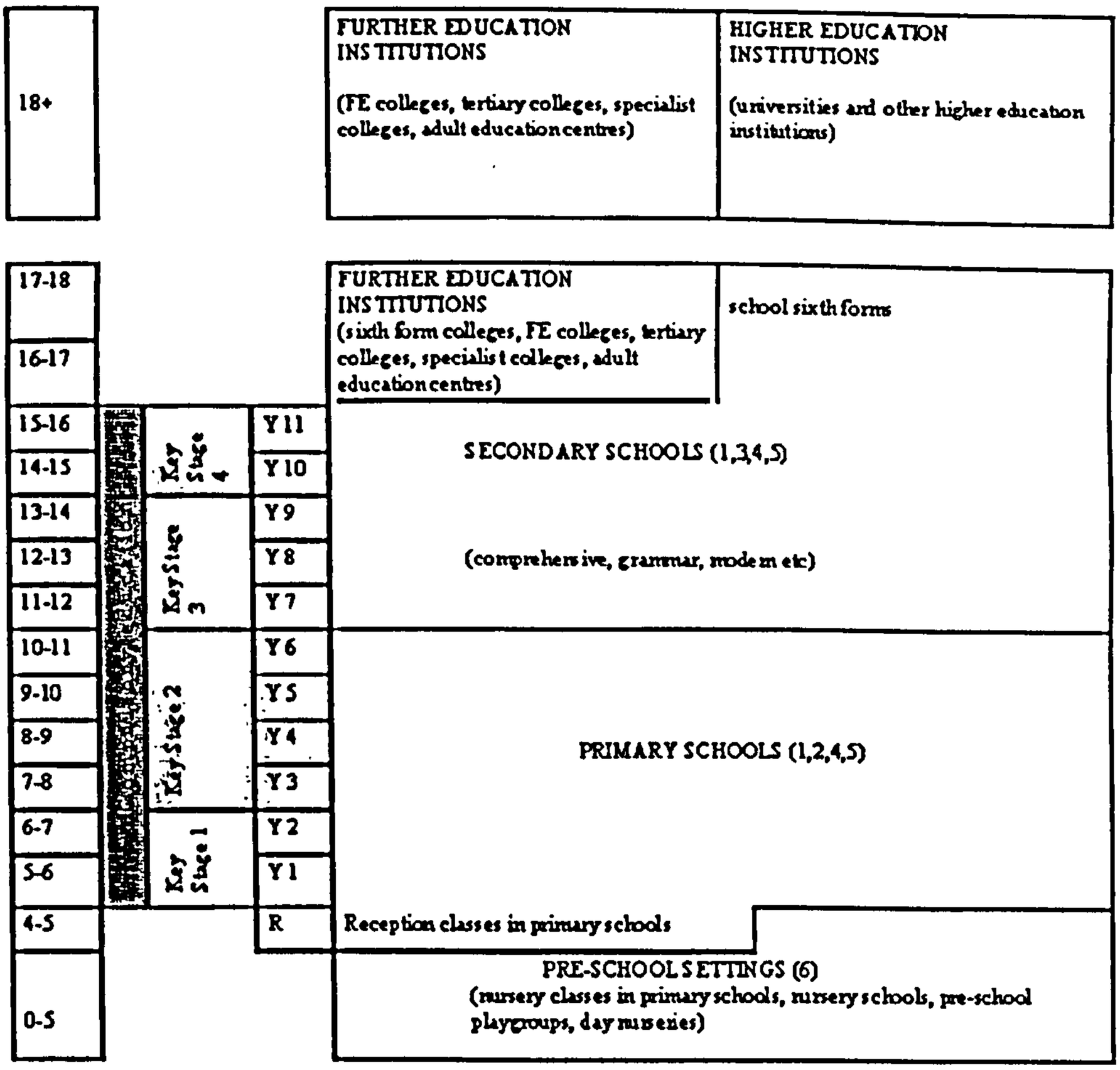
[1] This should also include any individual meetings with pupils concerning their work
[2] This should include all meetings such as those for Parent/Teacher Association [PTA], School/Home Association [SHA] and any School Board or meeting of School Governors
[3] This should include any continuing professional development [CPD] activities, in-service training [INSET] and any time spent supporting, mentoring or tutoring student teachers placed in the school.

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY
CRITICAL INCIDENT ANALYSIS

Please describe, briefly, an incident or achievement this week which gave you a sense of professional achievement or pleasure at being a teacher.

Please describe briefly an incident or lack of achievement which made you depressed, frustrated or upset from a professional point of view.

ENGLAND AND WALES



1. This diagram shows the predominant two-tier system of primary and secondary schools. In some areas, a three-tier system is in operation; children transfer from first school to middle school at age 8 or 9 and subsequently to a secondary school at age 12 or 13.

2. Some primary schools (known as infant schools) cater only for children up to 7; others, known as junior schools, cater only for children aged 7 to 11.

3. The vast majority of secondary schools are comprehensive schools and do not select pupils on grounds of ability Grammar schools select children on ability.

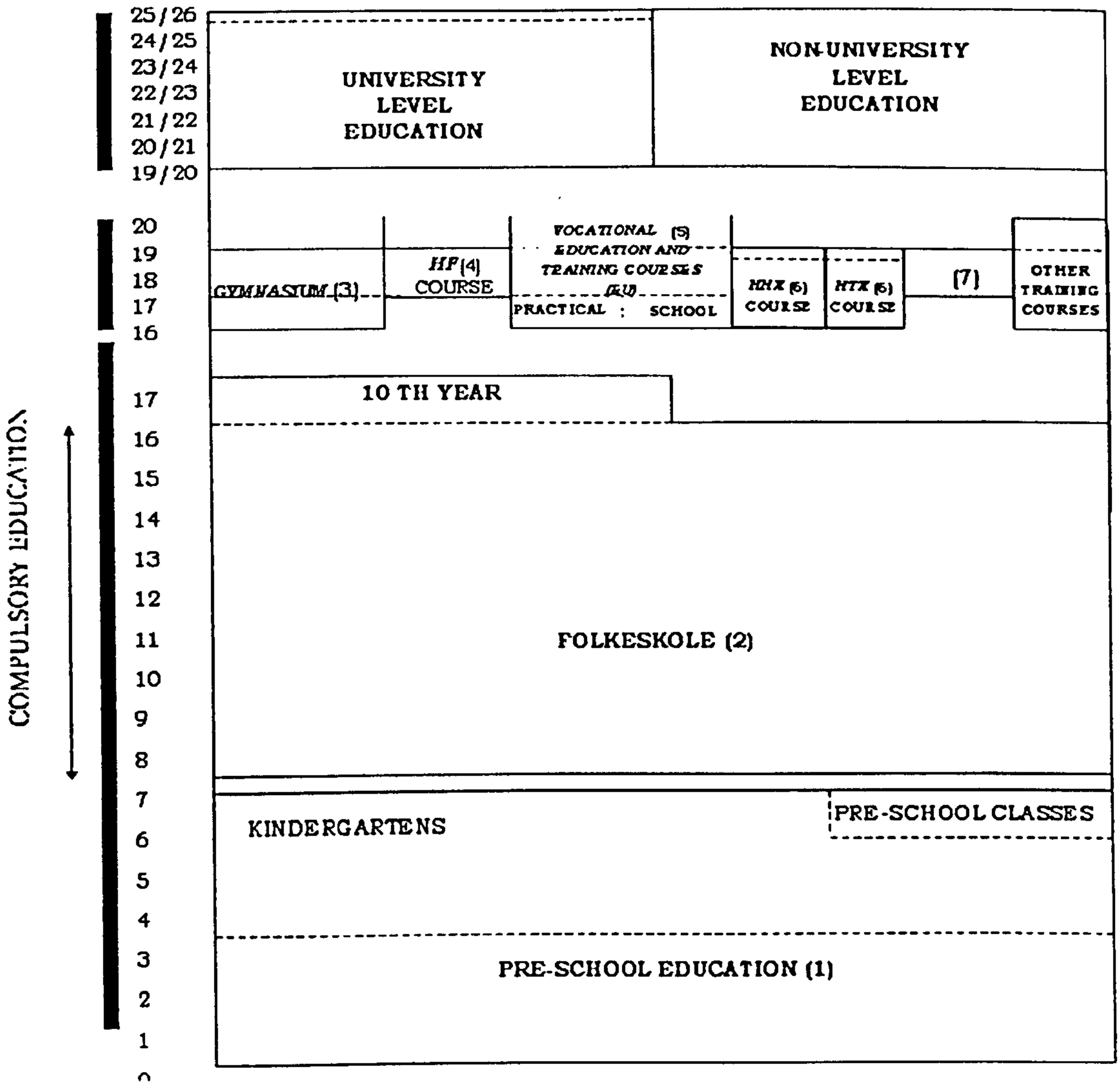
4. The majority of children with special educational needs are educated in mainstream schools. However, there are also a number of special schools.

5. There are also a number of pupil referral units for children who are not attending school because of illness, exclusion or for other reasons.

6 Nursery schools and classes generally accept children from around the age of 3, and pre-school playgroups generally accept children from around 2½

Web Page Reference: http://www.eurydice.org

DENMARK



1. In pre-school education there are several institutions catering consecutively or alternatively for the 0 to 6/7 year age range.
2. The *Folkeskole* comprises an optional pre-school class, nine years of full-time compulsory education and a supplementary optional tenth year. It provides general education at primary and lower secondary levels, the Danish education system does not differentiate between primary and lower secondary education
3. The Gymnasium provides a 3-year course of general education at upper secondary level, after the 9th or 10th year of the *Folkeskole*, with the final examination qualifying for university entrance.
4. The course for the *HF* (higher preparatory examination) is a 2-year general course, after the 10th year of the *Folkeskole*, with the final examination qualifying for further and higher education.
5. The basic vocational education and training courses (*EU*) last between 3 and 4 years with approximately two- thirds of the time spent in a company. A typical course consists of a first 20-week school course or practical training in a company of similar length, followed by a second 20-week school course After that, the course alternates between practical training and school.
6. The courses for the *HHX* (higher commercial examination) and the *HTX* (higher technical examination) are 3-year school-based courses within the commercial and the technical area respectively, leading to a final examination which qualifies for admission to higher education and for direct employment in trade and industry.
7. Social and health education programmes

= alternative beginning or end of level/type of education

Web Page Reference: http://www.eurydice.org

TEACHERS' WORK STUDY
Preliminary Questionnaire Survey of Teachers in Denmark

Thank you for taking part in this preliminary study concerning the attitudes of classroom teachers to their work in the 1990s. Your co-operation in this project is greatly appreciated and your responses will be treated in the strictest confidence. It is not necessary to identify either yourself or your school on the questionnaire.

Background Details: School

1. What is the approximate number of pupils in your school? .....
2. How many pupils are there in your class? .....
3. What age are the pupils in your class? .....
4. Which of the following best describes the area in which your school is situated? [*please tick as appropriate*]
   - *(a) rural area [eg. market town, village]* .....
   - *(b) suburban or urban area with a mixture of manual and clerical/white collar workers* .....
   - *(c) an inner city area with high unemployment and poor housing conditions* .....
   - *(d) a suburban or urban area with good housing conditions, a high proportion of managerial/ executive/professional occupations* .....
   - *(e) Other, please describe*

     .....
     .....
     .....

Background Details: Self

5. How many years have you been at your present school?

   .....

[Please tick the appropriate box for the following questions]

6. How many years have you been a teacher?
   - *under 1 year* .....
   - *1-4 years* .....
   - *5-10 years* .....
   - *11-20 years* .....
   - *over 20 years* .....
7. In which age group are you?
   - *30 or under* .....
   - *31-45 years* .....
   - *over 45 years* .....
8. Are you?
   - *Female* .....
   - *Male* .....

9. Other than class teaching, do you have any other professional responsibilities in your school? If yes, please explain:

Teaching Roles and Responsibilites

10. Please indicate [*by ticking*], the description which best explains your role as class teacher:
    - *(a)* The Generalist who teaches most or all of the curriculum .....
    - *(b)* The Generalist/Consultant who combines a generalist role with cross school co-ordination and support in one subject .....
    - *(c)* The Semi-specialist who teaches his/her subject but who Also has a generalist class teacher role .....
    - *(d)* Other, please explain

11. As a teacher, to whom do you feel accountable and to what extent?
[*please tick the appropriate box in each case*]

To whom accountable	Very accountable	Accountable	Accountable to some extent	Not very accountable	Not at all accountable
1. to yourself and your own conscience					
2. to the government					
3. to your pupils					
4. to your head teacher					
5. to the pupils' future employers					
6. to your colleagues					
7. to the school governors					
8. to the subject advisers					
9. to the parents of your pupils					
10. to society in general					
11. to the gymnasium					

For the next two questions, please indicate how important you feel each of the following objectives to be by circling a number on a scale of 0-5, where '5' is essential, '4' of major importance, '3' fairly important, '2' of minor importance, '1' of no importance, and '0' is not relevant to primary education.

12. How important is the responsibility you have for each of the following educational objectives?

1. To develop basic skills and build up knowledge 5 4 3 2 1
2. To foster the child's moral and social development 5 4 3 2 1
3. To develop the child's full potential 5 4 3 2 1
4. To equip the child with skills and attitudes which will enable her/him to take a place effectively in society 5 4 3 2 1
5. That the child should be an individual, developing in his/her own way 5 4 3 2 1
6. That the child should be obedient to parents, teachers, and all reasonable authority 5 4 3 2 1
7. That the child should be happy and well-balanced 5 4 3 2 1
8. To develop the child's capacity to think 5 4 3 2 1
9. To fit the child for an occupational role in society 5 4 3 2 1
10. That the child should acquire respect for his/her own and Other people's property 5 4 3 2 1
11. That children should learn to work co-operatively 5 4 3 2 1
12. That attainment targets should be achieved for as many children as possible 5 4 3 2 1
13. That the child is capable of hard work and effort 5 4 3 2 1
14. That the child should produce neat and presentable work 5 4 3 2 1
15. That the child should enjoy school 5 4 3 2 1
16. That an interest in learning is aroused 5 4 3 2 1
17. That children should be able to organise their work 5 4 3 2 1
18. To develop the child's self-confidence 5 4 3 2 1
19. That children should be kind and considerate to others 5 4 3 2 1
20. That the child should speak clearly and fluently 5 4 3 2 1

13. How important to your role as a class teacher are the following objectives in the organisation of your school?

a. Planning co-operatively with other class teachers 5 4 3 2 1
b. Working co-operatively with other class teachers 5 4 3 2 1
c. Consultation between head teacher and staff 5 4 3 2 1
d. Democratic decision making within the school 5 4 3 2 1
e. Central direction by head teacher 5 4 3 2 1

Classroom Practice

14. What proportion of class time do you estimate that you spend using the following teaching methods?

% of time

a. Whole class teaching – interaction between you and the whole class:
b. Collaborative group work – children working together in *shared* task:
c. Individual work – children working alone on individual task, *even if Sitting with other in a group:*

15. Would you please number the following teaching attributes in order of importance. From '1' *most important* to '8' *least important.*

a. clear teaching/learning aims ……
b. teaching skills …
c. assessment skills ….
d. subject knowledge …..
e. classroom organisation …..
f. knowledge of children …..
g. relationship with children ….
h. maintenance of classroom discipline

16. Please place in order of importance the developments you hope to see in the children by the end of their time with you.

a. increased subject knowledge …….
b. increased communication skills ….
c. increased confidence…..
d. increased independence as a learner …….
e. increased ability to work co-operatively ……
f. increased social skills ……..

Recent Educational Policy Changes

17. Have recent changes to your national education system altered the way you see your role as a class teacher?

Yes ……. No ……

18. Have recent changes to your national education system altered your classroom practice in any way?

Yes ……. No …….

19. Have recent changes to your national education system altered your relationship with pupils in any way?

a. relationships are better ……..
b. relationships are worse ……..
c. relationships are unchanged ……..

20. Have the recent changes to your national education system had an effect on parent-teacher relationships?

a. relationships are better ……..
b. relationships are worse ……..
c. relationships are unchanged ……..

21. Have recent changes to your national education system had an effect on your relationship with colleagues?

a. relationships are better ……..
b. relationships are worse ……..
c. relationships are unchanged ……..

Two Final Questions

22. What in your opinion makes a good teacher?

23. If you had the chance to choose again, would you still choose to be a teacher?

Yes ..... No ..... Don't know .....

Thank you for your co-operation

Emm/15.1.96

Environmental Aspects of Mason Road Primary School

(a) Examples of the surrounding housing

(b) Original Victorian school building

(c) Modern Infant and Nursery extension

(d) Entrance to the school controlled by entryphone

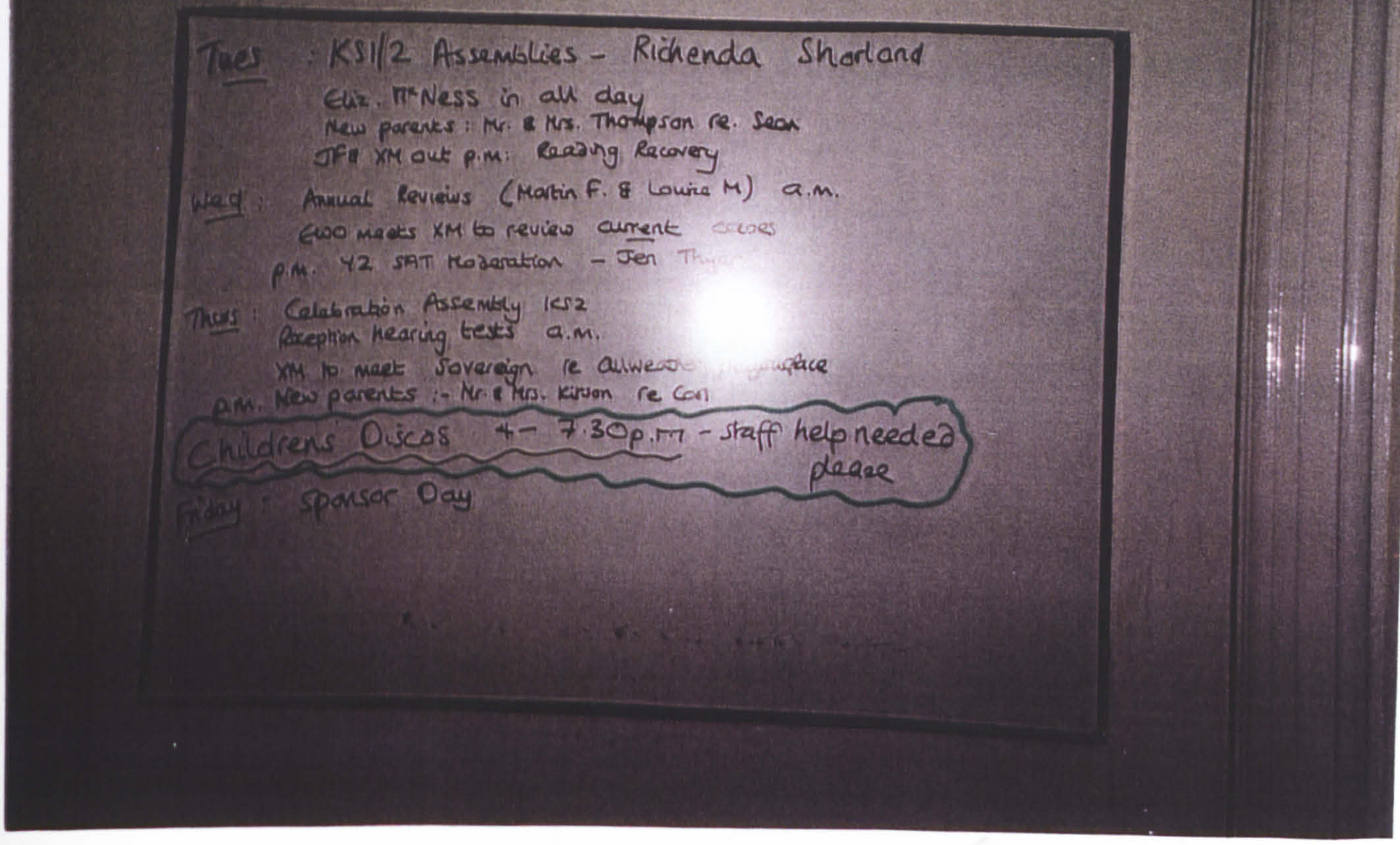
(e) Playground bounded on two sides by busy trunk roads

(f) Original Victorian school hall

(g) Teachers' room with recently installed computer

(h) Small kitchen area for the preparation of food and drink

(i) Reference materials for teachers



(j) Whiteboard containing information for the week

Environmental Aspects of Margaret May Primary School

(a) Examples of the surrounding housing

(b) Modern, single-storey school building

(c) Temporary classrooms to accommodate extra pupils

(d) Large school playing field

(e) Main road screened by trees and school's nature garden

(f) Entrance to school in crowded residential cul-de-sac

(g) School hall which is used as a dining room at lunch times

(h) Teachers' room with noticeboards, resource materials and teachers' pigeonholes

(i) Small kitchen area for teachers to prepare food and drink

(j) Newly installed computer suite for teachers

Environmental Aspects of Dalskolen

(a) Examples of housing in the surrounding area

(b) Modern two-storey school building with large playing field to one side

(c) *School entrance hall*

(d) *Door to the suite of administration offices*

(e) Wide corridor leading to teachers' room and classrooms

(f) Corridor outside classrooms

(g) Spacious teachers' room with dining tables and a table for meetings

(h) Well-equipped kitchen for the preparation of food and drink

Environmental Aspects of Vestskolen

(a) Examples of housing in the surrounding area

(b) Entrance to school as the end of a residential cul-de-sac

(c) Modern single-storey school building

(d) Main school entrance

(e) Spacious school entrance hall

(f) One of the spacious school corridors

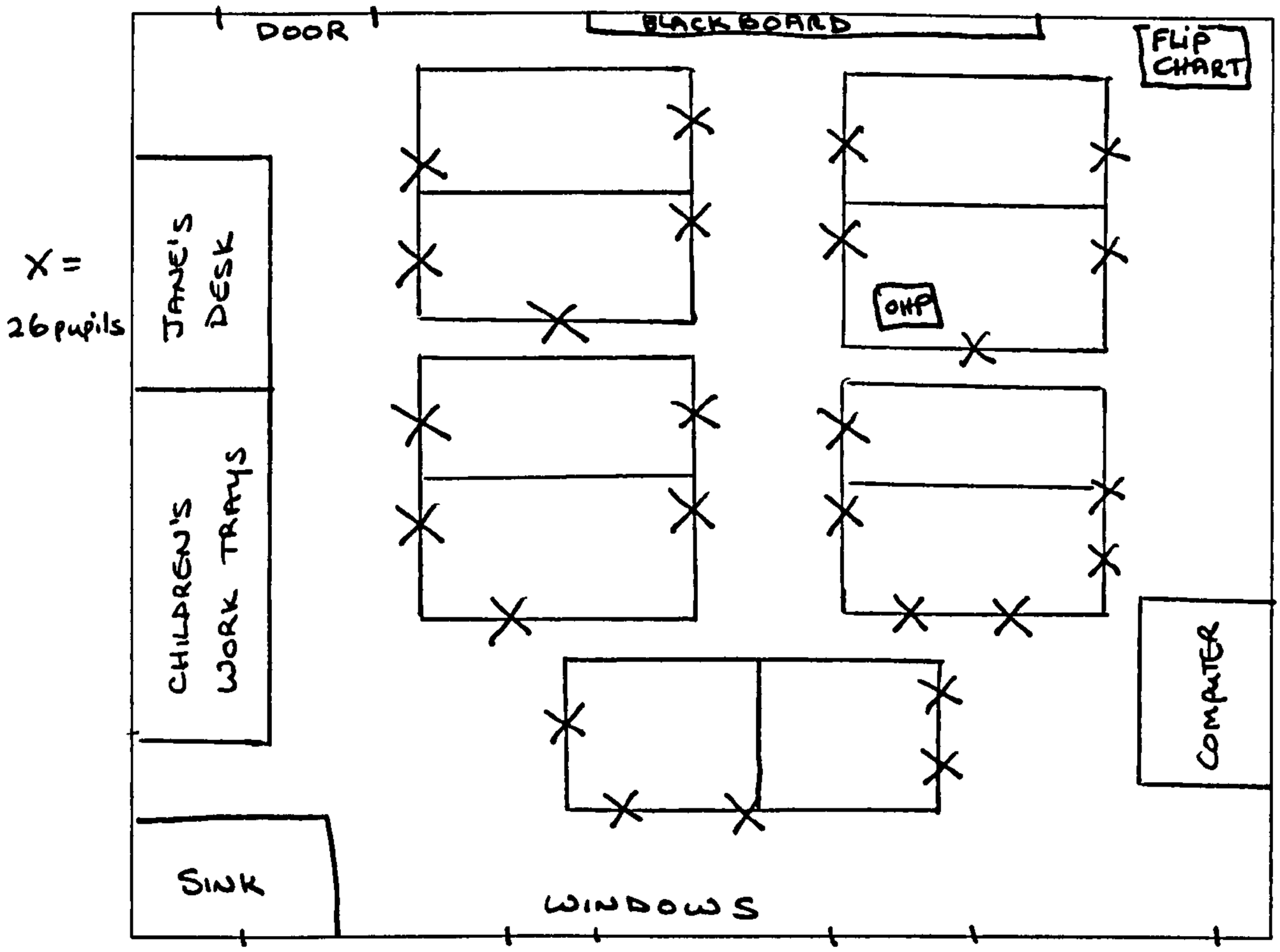
(g) Spacious and well-equipped administrative offices

(h) Teachers' room with comfortable dining area

(i) Well-equipped kitchen for the preparation of food and drink

(j) Notices, resources and the recently installed computer

Jane's Classroom: Environmental and Organizational Aspects



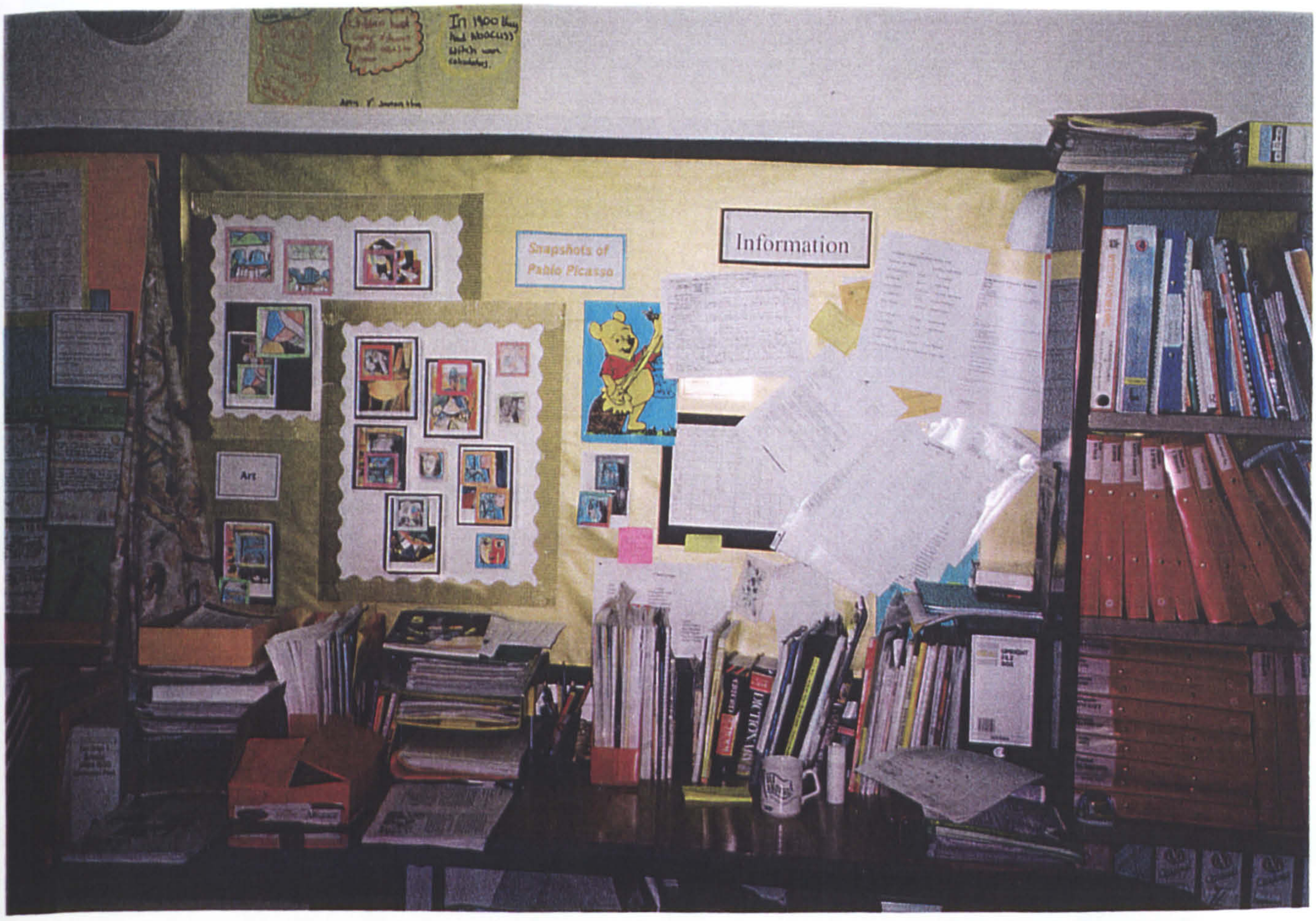
N.B. This plan is not to scale but aims to give a general impression of the organisation, equipment and space within the classroom.

Jane's classroom was a large square area with high ceilings. It had windows on one side which were tall and let in a great deal of light, but were so high that they did not allow pupils to view the busy road which ran outside the school directly beside the room. Because of the fumes and noise, it was also necessary to keep them closed much of the time. They were covered with strip blinds which also obscured the view. There were six strip lights on the ceiling, together with a fan. The class door led directly onto the school hall which, as well as being a thoroughfare, was used for PE, music and assemblies. The door had a glass pane in it, which was covered by a roller blind to avoid distraction from the activities in the hall. The walls and tables around the room were covered with brightly coloured resources and many carefully-mounted examples of children's work. Jane had a desk to one side of the room which was piled high with teaching resources, pupil records and paperwork to be attended to. On one side of it was a resource cupboard, on the other was a low cupboard which stored the pupils trays of work. The children sat on standard issued plastic-formed chairs and worked around 'typical' junior school tables. There was not much space to move around between the tables but the floor was carpeted which helped reduce the noise of chairs being scraped and pupils moving around. The pupils usually sat facing the front of the class for the literacy and numeracy hours each morning but sat in more informal groups in the afternoon when some collaborative work was done. Jane had organized the class by grouping pupils with similar attainment levels together so that she could work with different groups as the task demanded. Together with the teacher of the parallel Year 6 class, they had divided the pupils into two different attainment groups for the statutory numeracy hour each day. This meant that after each morning break the pupils divided themselves up differently between the two classrooms. Jane took a slightly smaller group of pupils who were moving more slowly through the required tasks, while her colleague took a larger group of more able pupils. They had found that this was necessary in order to achieve the best SAT results in mathematics.

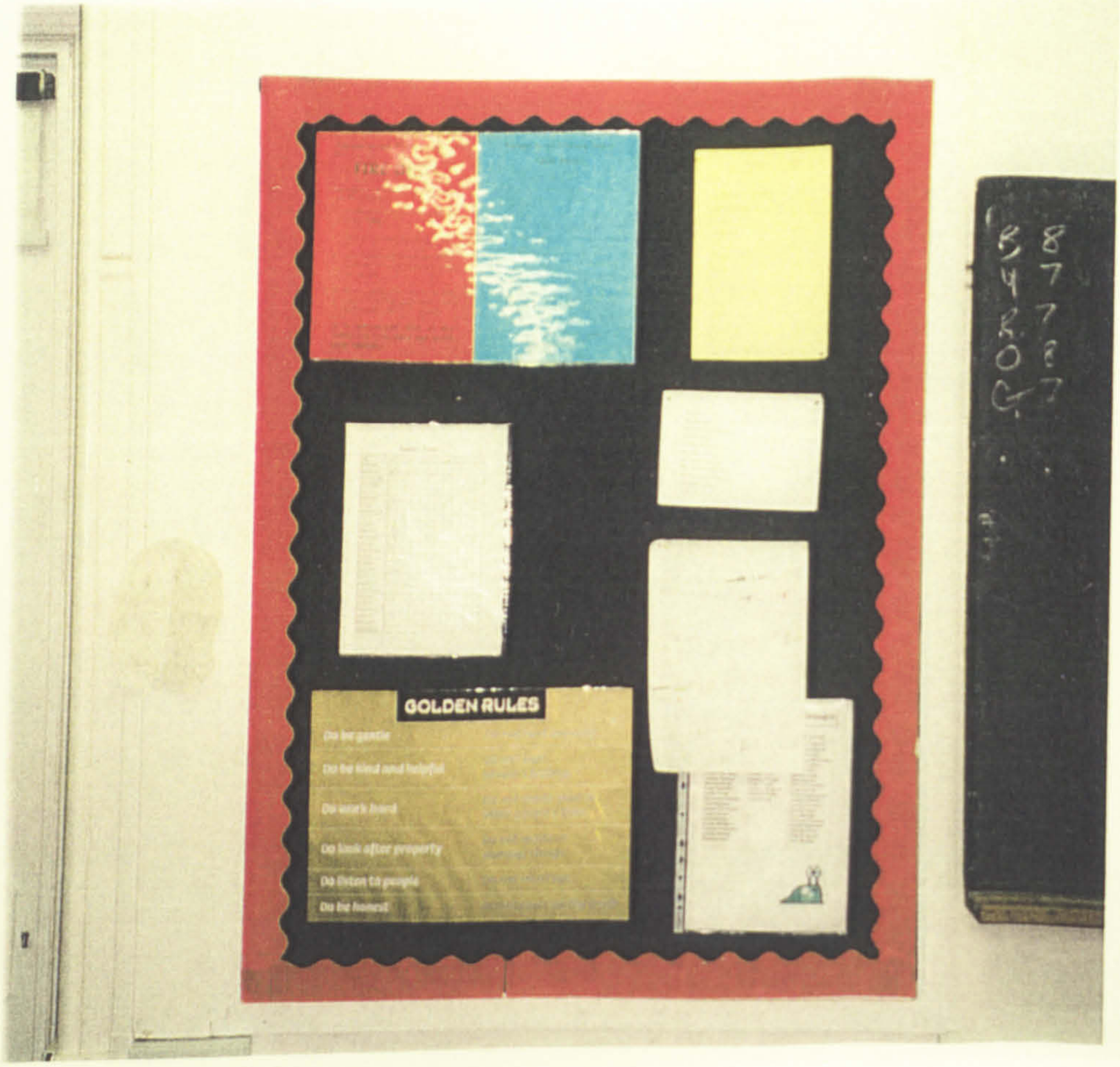
(a) The Layout and Organization of Jane's Classroom

(b) Examples of the colourful wall displays of pupils' work

(c) Class library corner and computer area

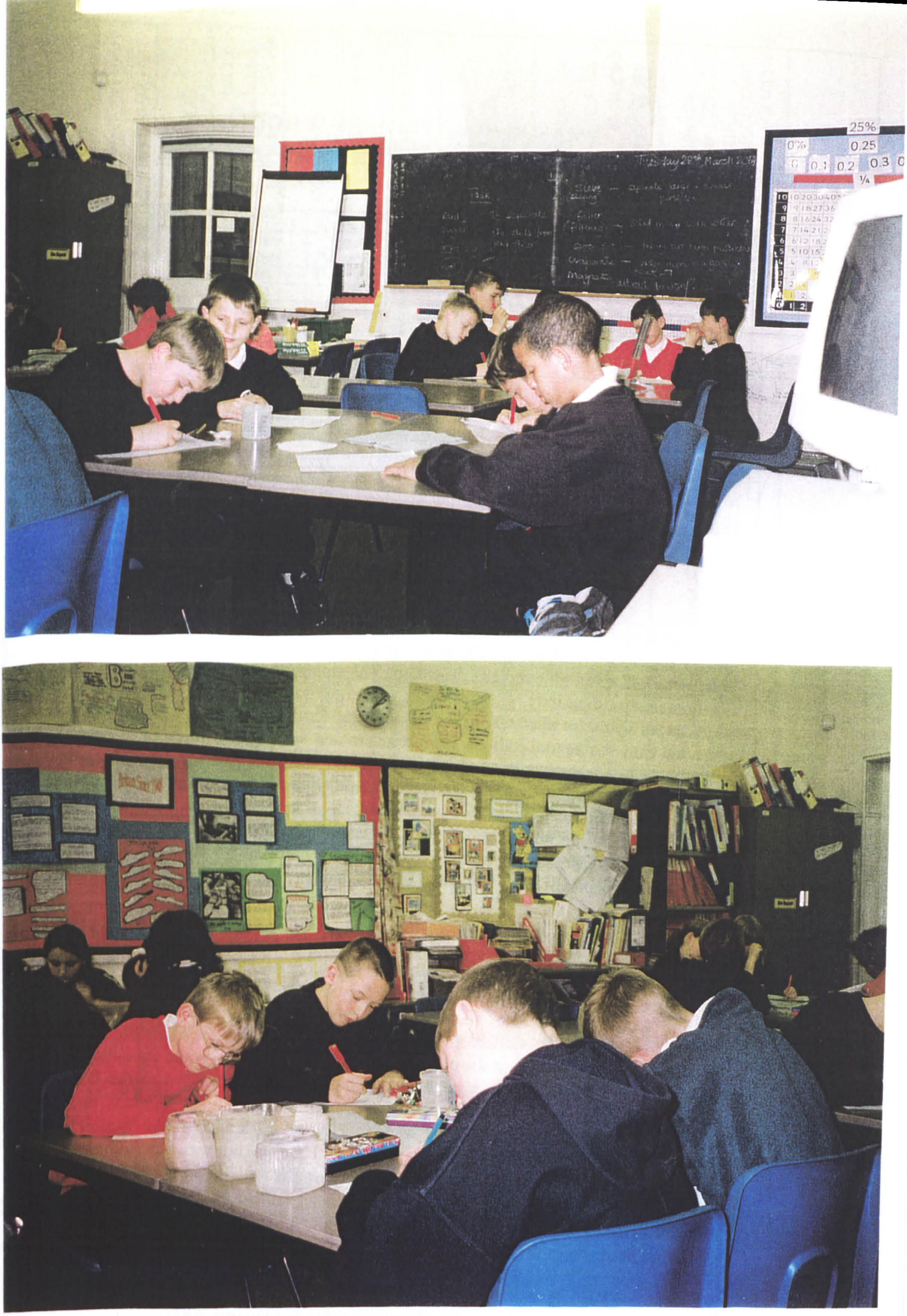


(d) Jane's desk covered with teaching resources, pupil records and paperwork



(e) Class rules and merit lists

(f) Pupils organized in rows for more formal teaching in literacy and numeracy



(g) Pupils arranged more informally in groups when conducting a science investigation

MASON ROAD PRIMARY SCHOOL
Weekly Timetable Spring 2000

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.50am	Boardwork and Registration	Boardwork and Registration	Boardwork and Registration	Boardwork Registration	Boardwork Registration
9.00	*Assembly*	*Assembly*	*Assembly*	*Assembly*	*Assembly*
9.15	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy	literacy
10.15	Speaking and listening	Music	Religion	Extended writing/ hand writing	Spelling test
10.55	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
11.10	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy
12.10	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
1.10	Silent reading registration	Silent reading registration	Silent reading registration	Silent reading registration	Silent reading registration
1.25	Science	D & T	IT/History	Art/D & T	Geog./Hist.
2.25	Science	PE[outdoor]	History Story	PE[hall]	Golden Time Story
3.20 pm	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*

[*D&T = design and technology, PE = physical education, IT= information technology, Geog. = geography, Hist. =history*]

Each morning started with the administrative task of taking the attendance and dinner money registers. Work for the children to get on with individually as this was taking place was put up on an overhead projector. The children knew the system and came into the classroom quietly, got their work from their trays and began to complete the tasks set for them. Immediately following registration, the whole of the Junior School were led into the school hall by their teachers and sat in class rows for a school assembly which was usually conducted by the head teacher. A visiting speaker was also sometimes invited to take part in these assemblies. It was usual for classical music to be played as the children settled themselves in the hall. Each morning was taken up with the statutory 'literacy' and 'numeracy' hours: one hour before, and one hour after the mid-morning break. These lessons followed a centrally prescribed pattern and were planned in great detail by Jane and her Year 6 colleague [*see* **(b)** and **(c)**].

The children and teachers had a fifteen minute mid-morning break. The children went to the playground and the teachers. who were not on playground duty, went to the staff room. After the numeracy hour the children finished for lunch. Some children went home but most stayed on the school premises. The teachers went to have sandwiches in the staff room and non-teaching staff were responsible for the children while they played in the playground. After lunch the teachers were required to call an attendance register again. These statistics were submitted to the DfEE. While this was happening the children engaged in silent reading. Lessons in the afternoon were less formal and there was more group and collaborative work. On Friday afternoons Jane had lesson called 'Golden Time'. This was a period of free choice for the children, depending on their behaviour and attitude during the week. If they had not lost any 'Golden Points' through bad behaviour they could go and choose a game to play with a friend. This was part of a major behaviour policy which was carried out across the school.

(a) Jane's weekly class timetable for Spring 2000

	Whole class - shared reading Mystery.	Whole class - phonics, spelling, vocabulary	Group Tasks Spelling/Handwriting Comprehension Tasks: Carries War. (2 days) Writing Task: 'Non-Fiction. (The Grove) (2 days) Plan/write/criteria check. Alternative words & expressions to common choices.	Plenary
Mon	The Whisperer p.162 → 164. character introductions. Use of speech.	comprehension skills. Skim through pass. Read detail	Carries War Comprehension Task A T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I	How much can you take in. Highlight key words
Tue	p.165 – p.167. How indiv. paragraphs are structured.	Answering questions w/ enough detail	Carries War Comprehension Task B. T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I	Using titles as indicators of amount of detail.
Wed	p.167. p.171. How suspense is well-built.	Spelling Contractions isn't we've etc	Criteria for writing Non-Fiction. Plan of story – (The Grove.) Write 1st Draft 45 minutes →. T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I	Checking Story – time organisation
Thu	p.171 → end.. How is ending developed.	Spelling -ise -ify -en.	Finish Read through – self assess story on criteria Check List. T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I	What is the criteria for a good piece of NF?
Fri	Beginning of Internet Detail - tension of beg. Use of words. Atmosphere.	Alternative words & expressions to common choices.	A Guided Reading / B Make small -showing alternative words & expressions to common choices. / 4 / R / C Thesaurus books T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I T OA I	Make sentences with selection of new words.
Use of ICT			Weekly review	

Learning Outcomes	Mental/Oral Activity	Key Vocabulary	Main Activity/Teaching Input/Differentiation		Plenary Key Question	Resources
Mon ← ASSESS & REVIEW. → O/M			Mental Test 1997.			Cassettereco
Tues Express a quotient as a fraction or as a decimal rounded to 1d.p/2d.p → include money. O/M 8× table	Swinging pendulum. - 8× table	Quotient Remainder Division Dividend Fraction Decimal.	Whole-class examples of division expressed answer as a fraction and then as a decimal. Discuss rounding. Answer question involving sharing + remainders as fraction/decimal.	More able to do for long division. Less able given more time.	What is the answer as a fraction/ as a decimal?	Swinging pendul Division questio involving remainder
Wed Multiply HTU by TU. O/M Multiply TU×U	Using digit fans respond to oral question of multiplication.	Multiply	Whole-class example of multiplying HTU × TU. Discuss role of decimal in multiplication. Answer question involving multiplication of HTU × TU.	More able to extend to long multiplication of decimals.	Whole-class worked example of question to reinforce.	Multiplicatio questions Digit fans.
Thurs Division HTU by TU (long division whole number answer) O/M Language of divisio	Answer question of division using a variety of mathematical language	See Tuesday. Subtraction Carry	Reminder of process of long division involving HTU by TU. Answer question involving the process.	More able again to extend to decimals making link with Tuesday	↓	Mental divisio questions (from Strategy) Long divisio question
Fri Use all 4 operations to solve word problems involving money or 'real-life' O/M Various	Weekly Mental Test involving problems.	4 operations Calculate Important information Problem Answer.	Reminder of previous weeks' work on problem solving. Stress importance of using methods for written calculation. Also include calculator for money calculations	Children to work at own pace through graded questions.	What was the answer to the problem?	Word problems (money) Calculators.
Use of IT:-	Weekly review:					1 of 2 weeks

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF JANE

8.10am Jane has arrived early to photocopy some worksheets for the children which she will be using during the day. She takes the opportunity to discuss the day's work with the teacher of the parallel year group who will be out for the morning on a course. His class will be covered by a supply teacher.

8.50 The children come into the classroom quietly, having hung their coats up in the communal cloakroom. They take out work from their trays at the side of the class and begin to work. The date is on the blackboard and there are some maths problems projected onto the wall above the blackboard. The children work on the maths problems while the teacher calls the register. They are addressed by their first names and they reply with 'good morning' or 'Yes, Miss P'. The children continue to work quietly – one boy asks for something to be clarified and Jane answers.

8.57 Jane begins the dinner register and collects in the money from those children who have it. She reminds them that it is only 4 days this week as the teachers have an Inservice day on Friday. Two girls come into the class quietly and get out their books – Jane nods at them and they get on with their work.

9.00 The children are asked to put their books away by group – orange group, blue group, etc. They then line up by the door ready to go into the hall for Junior assembly with the head teacher. All the children from the Junior classes [key stage 2] arrive in the hall escorted by their teachers who arrange them in rows facing the front. A piece of Grieg is playing in the background. When they are settled most teachers go off to attend to other things or have a cup of coffee in the staff room, leaving the children with the head teacher.

9.05 Jane goes to the school office to make a phone call about the arrangements for a book fair for which she is responsible.

9.20 The children return to their class. One boy holds the door open for the others. Another boy asks Jane if he should put the light on. The children chatter in their places while the first worksheet is being handed out. Jane begins the prescribed literacy hour.

9.25 She reminds the class that they were looking at 'science fiction' last week. This week they are looking at 'mystery' stories. She begins a question and answer session, asking for the children to explain what is meant by mystery stories –'*I want to see those hands up a lot more today, please, so that I know you're awake'.*

9.30 One boy is chosen to begin reading the mystery story extract on their work sheets. When he stumbles, other children fill in the correct word. A girl is chosen to read the next section and the rest of the class listen quietly.

9.35 An adult comes into the class to have a quick work with Jane. The children mostly sit quietly while this happens.

9.36 When the adult leaves, Jane continues with the story, clarifying the meanings of some words. Another boy is chosen to read, which he does quite slowly. The adult returns [*it is the supply teacher taking the parallel Year 6 class*] to briefly clarify something. Jane asks another boy if he is OK to read the next section. He agrees. This continues around the class and difficult words are clarified by Jane.

A one point a girl is asked to get a dictionary to look up the meaning of the word 'ostentatious'. Jane jokes with the class about showing off and arriving in her Ferrari tomorrow. Children laugh.

9.45 The reading continues until the extract is finished and the children are asked to put their work sheets in the middle of their tables. They then put the date in their work books and start on the next work sheet. Jane asks the children why they think they have been doing the comprehension tests. One boy offers SATs as an explanation [*their Key Stage 2 tests are coming up in a few weeks*]. Jane agrees but wants to know what it is that they are learning. She then goes through it with them on the blackboard.

9.55 Jane goes through the necessary stages they need to follow in order to complete a good piece of comprehension. As she moves around the class she touches children on the shoulder who are not paying attention. She calls their names when she thinks they are distracted.

10.00 The children are given a couple of minutes to read through the text again and underline anything that they think is important. The children as absolutely quiet as they do this.

10.05 After checking the number of paragraphs with the children, Jane now asks them to work with a partner, telling them what each paragraph is about in their own words. One boy is gazing into the distance, sucking his thumb. Jane moves around the class as the children chat with each other about the text that they have just read.

10.10 Jane now asks the class to put their hands up to tell her about the paragraphs. She wants at least one person from each group with their hand up. When the children flag the teacher urges them on – '*Come on, we're wasting a lot of time on this one*'.

10.15 Jane tells them they have 10 minutes to complete questions 1-5. There is a moan/exclamation from some children – '*OK, I'll give you 10 to 15 minutes but don't talk with a friend, do it on your own*'. [*This is an exercise based on the Literacy Hour. The teacher says that she would not normally spend so long on it but they need to revise because the SATs are coming up soon.*]

10.18 Jane sits with a table of two girls and two boys and works with them as they need extra help to get started. Then she begins to move around the class to check on other children.
[*The children are grouped with others working at a similar standard. The table of four at the front have particular problems.*]

10.25 As children finish they are told to go on to the next piece of work.

10.30 Jane calls for their attention and then goes through the answers with the whole of the class. The children mark their own work. She warns them not to put all their answers on one line as they will only get one mark if their answers are not in the correct place.

10.40 When they have finished Jane asks them to tell her, as honestly as they can, how many marks they got – *'Hands up if you got 9 out of 10.....hands up if you got under 5 – right, good'*. She then goes through the questions that they got wrong. She asks them to put their completed work in a pile to be collected in later. Two children collect in the photocopied work sheets which they will continue with tomorrow.

10.45 Jane gives out the work they completed last week and goes through the answers with them. One boy leaves the class to go to the toilet but returns quickly. Jane repeats the steps they must follow to complete a good piece of comprehension - *scanning, skimming, understanding text, important facts, paragraphs, reading in detail. 'You must read through your answers, does it answer the question? Does it make sense?'*

10.55 Jane moves on to a handwriting exercise. The do the first sentence together. They revise the rules for good 'joined up' writing. '*OK, lets get going we need to be fast.*' The bell sounds for morning break but Jane continues completing the sentence on the blackboard, talking through the points which they must look out for. She asks them to check that they have put their names on their pieces of paper – they will finish the work this afternoon but it is collected in the meantime.

11.00 The children put away their work in their trays and sit with their arms folded at clear tables waiting to be dismissed for break. The children are dismissed table by table – they are asked to push their chairs under their tables and go out to the playground quietly. Jane keeps two girls behind to talk to them about getting some work finished and up on the classroom wall. When they leave she checks her mental arithmetic maths tape for the next session.

11.05 Jane goes to the staff room where she makes herself a cup of coffee and chats to her colleagues, concerning such issues as the pupils, future arrangements and personal experiences.

11.15 The two Year 6 classes has now reassembled themselves and the teacher asks her maths set to spread themselves around the class because they are going to do a test [*this group is slightly smaller than the other group, only 21 children*]. One boy arrives late from his home classroom and Jane talks to him outside the classroom before he is allowed in. A boy comes in from the parallel class to ask a question and Jane asks him to tell the supply teacher not to interrupt anymore as she is about to start the maths test.

11.20 She prepares the children by telling them that they need to get used to using the tape, as they will have to use it for the SAT test. They need to get used to a voice other than their teacher's.

11.25 Jane plays the first part of the test, which gives the children instructions. She stops the tape and goes over these instructions to make sure that the children have understood – '*It is fast, mental arithmetic, don't use rubbers, just cross it out, it is quicker. Don't worry about being messy, just get the answers down'.*

11.30 The tape begins, it is very fast and some faces look puzzled, others seem to be coping. One boy appears to have given up trying. Some children are not putting down any answers and look crest fallen. [*The tape has a male voice. There are 25 mental arithmetic questions. They must only write down the answers, if they include any workings out the answer will be marked incorrect. It is a rehearsal for part of the Key Stage 2 maths SAT which they will take in May, along with all other 10/11 year-olds.*]

11.40 The tape finishes and Jane says '*Oh that was hard wasn't it. Hands up if you kept going to the end – Well done, it is important that you keep going and try to answer as much as you can.*' Two infant

boys come into the class and the teacher deals with them and they leave.

11.41 Jane asks them to change the colour of their pen or swap their paper with a partner so that they can mark the answers. She is very encouraging as she rewinds the tape and goes through the sums one by one as a class exercise, explaining various strategies they could have used to find the answer. She writes the answers and the explanation on a white board at the front of the class. The children begin to fidget as the teacher continues but she is encouraging, telling them that they will get better at doing the test.
[*Jane says that she rarely marks individual work in class as there isn't time. They either mark it together as a class or she takes it home and gives it back to them the next day.*]

12.0 Jane continues going through the questions on the board. The children are getting very fidgety. The teacher begins to speed things up and calls one boy to come and work near her at the front of the class because he is not paying attention. She begins to write up the initials of children who are not paying attention on the blackboard.

12.15 Jane perseveres and continues going through the test with them. The parallel Year 6 class has broken for lunch. One girl looks in through the glass in the classroom door. The teacher pulls down the blind so that her class are not distracted by what is going on outside. She asks the class to put the number they got right in a circle on the test sheet and collect them in. She is encouraging and tells them that it was hard the first time but it will get easier. The children put the tables back into the normal format. She signs the report cards for two boys who have been in trouble previously. She speaks with two boys who appeared to give up with the test and tells them that it will get better. Finally, all the children leave for lunch.

12.20 Jane goes to meet with some colleagues to discuss the management of the 'Golden Time' boxes – this is a system of rewarding children who have been well-behaved during the week. They agree to sort through the boxes by next Friday.

12.35 Jane meets with parallel Year 6 teacher, who has returned from his course, about the work they have planned for the afternoon session. She then returns to her class to put the marks from the maths test in her mark book. She is concerned about one boy in particular who seems to have filled in the answers after the test.

12.50 Jane goes to the staff room to make a cup of coffee, eat some sandwiches and chat with colleagues.

1.10 Jane goes to the playground to pick up her class. They are lined up waiting for her. There is an ambulance in the playground that has been called for a child who hurt his back on the climbing equipment.

1.15 The children come into the classroom and settle down to quiet reading. They take it in turns to visit the library to change their books. Jane begins to hear readers and reminds children returning to the classroom not to disturb the others who are working. She calls a boy to her who appears upset. She speaks quietly with him she then calls in a boy from the parallel class who has been reading on his own in the hall outside the classroom. She speaks with both

boys then leaves the class to speak with the head teacher who is outside the classroom. The boys then go back to their places.

1.30 Jane asks them to put away their reading books when they have finished the page they are on. They all move almost immediately to put their books in their trays.

1.31 Jane begins to tell them about the science test that they are going to do this afternoon. One boy says that he has to leave at 2.30 because his sister has a dental appointment. Jane says that he must wait until he is sent for by someone in the school office. [*Jane did consider whether it was sensible to give them three tests in one day but thought that it would be good to get them all out of the way at the beginning of the week. She had told me that the week would not be normal as they were well into revision for the SAT tests in May.*]

1.40 Jane revises work they have done on 'changing materials' and asks for examples of different types. Then she moves on to electrical circuits and revises some technical terms – *conductor, non-conductor, insulator, non-insulator.*

1.50 The test sheets are handed out but they are told not to open them yet. Then she goes through the instructions on the first page – one boy says *'Miss, this is hard'*. She reminds them that the number of marks shown by the side of the question is a clue as to how much they need to write. She reminds them that they must read the questions carefully.

1.55 Jane tells them that she can help with words but she cannot tell them the answers. She tells them to read the whole test first if that helps.

2.00 The children settle down to the test and Jane moves around the class helping them with the reading. Someone asks for the ceiling fan to be turned off and the teacher asks for a show of hands – most say they want the fan to stay on.

2.15 Jane reminds them that they have had 15 minutes and that there are another fifteen to go. Most children are working but one boy seems to have given up.

2.25 Jane reminds them that they have 5 minutes left and that they should check their answers to see if they could improve their marks.

2.30 Jane calls time and asks them to finish the question they are on. Half the class think that the test was OK. The teacher will mark the test papers and go through it with them in revision time next Wednesday. The children breathe a sigh of relief that they do not have to go through the answers now.

2.31 The test papers are collected in and the 'slipper' folders are given out. The boy's mother comes to collect him and he leaves the class. The teacher goes through with the class what they should have in their folder. [*This was a design and technology project that they did last term. They had to design, make and evaluate a pair of slippers. The teacher will make a display of them in the classroom when they have finished.*]

2.40 Jane hands out evaluation sheets for them to read. The children go to fetch their slippers from the back of the classroom – Ben has lost his and other children help him look for it. Jane talks them

through what they could have done to improve their slippers and goes through a series of questions that address this.

2.50 '*Right, you need to finish your evaluation by 3.10.*' Jane goes round the class helping individuals complete their evaluation. The children are busy doing their work.

3.00 Children begin to bring their finished work to Jane. She tells them to go directly on to their drawing. There is a disagreement between some children about a piece of paper. Jane goes over to sort it out and says that if the children misbehave they will have to clear up and be silent for 20 minutes. The children settle down and the teacher talks to individual children giving advice and encouragement.

3.10 A girl is asked to collect in the finished evaluation sheets. The rest are returned to their folders and will be finished off tomorrow. The slippers go back on the display table and the children move around the class tidying up. Jane calls out instructions over the general chatter. She then praises the children for their work and for clearing up efficiently – Ben is still looking for his slipper.

3.15 The children sit at their tables and the teacher says '*Ok let's get on with our story – look how much more we have to read*'. She begins to read a story book and the children listen – a bell rings – Jane continues to read.

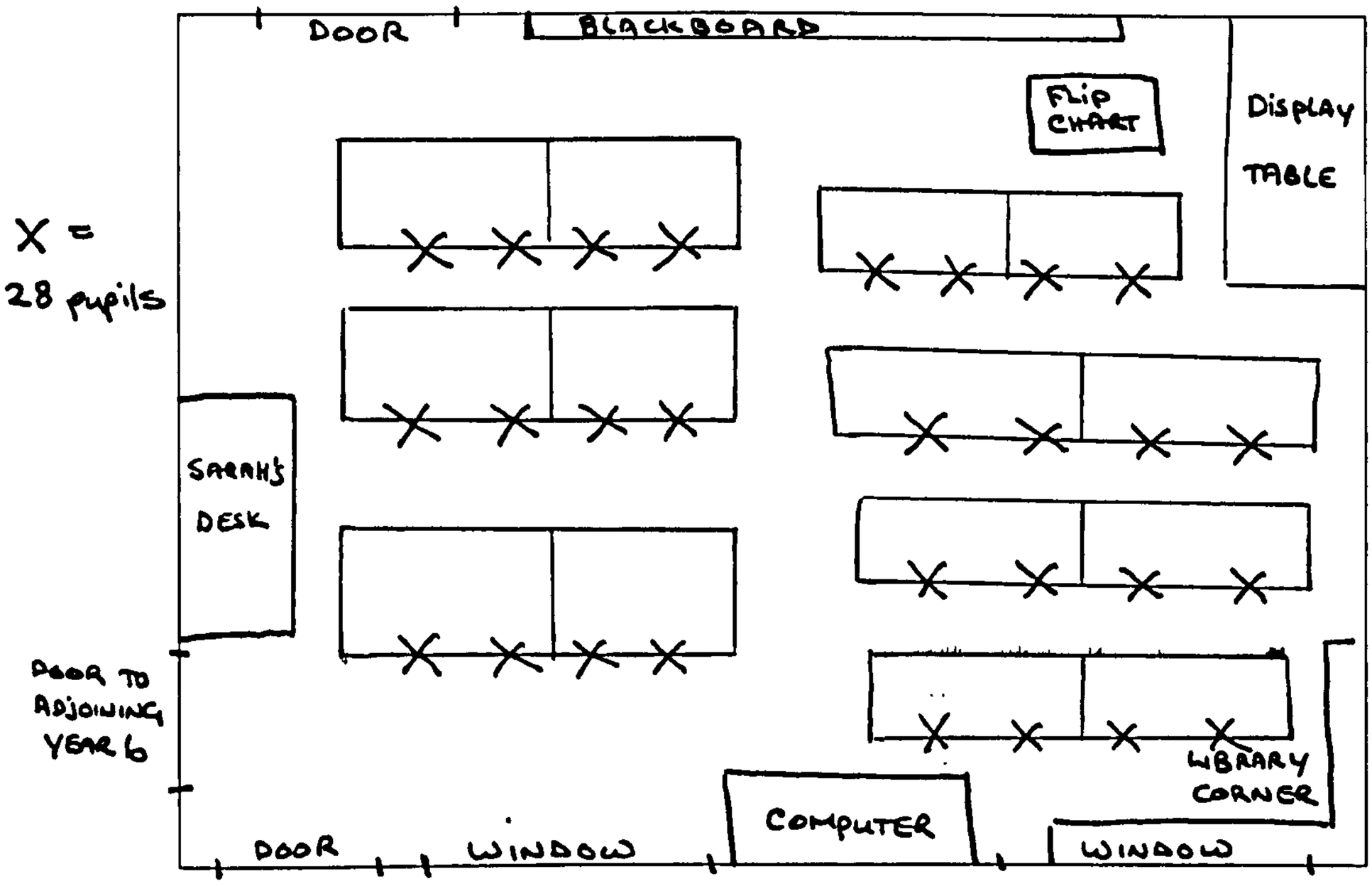
3.20 A second bell goes and the teacher finishes the chapter. She reminds the children that they need their spelling books and PE kit for tomorrow and then dismisses them for the day. The children put their chairs on their tables ready for the cleaners.

3.30 Jane follows them to the cloakroom checking that the children are leaving school in an orderly fashion. A couple of mums come up to talk to her.

3.35 Jane returns to the staff room where she has meeting with a book sales person. She looks at what the company has to offer her. She is responsible for ordering the reading books for Key Stage 2. She goes through the order form and agrees with the sales person what she would like.

4.15 She returns to the school hall to check on the Book Fair which is being run by volunteer parents, but for which she is responsible.

Sarah's Classroom: Environmental and Organizational Aspects



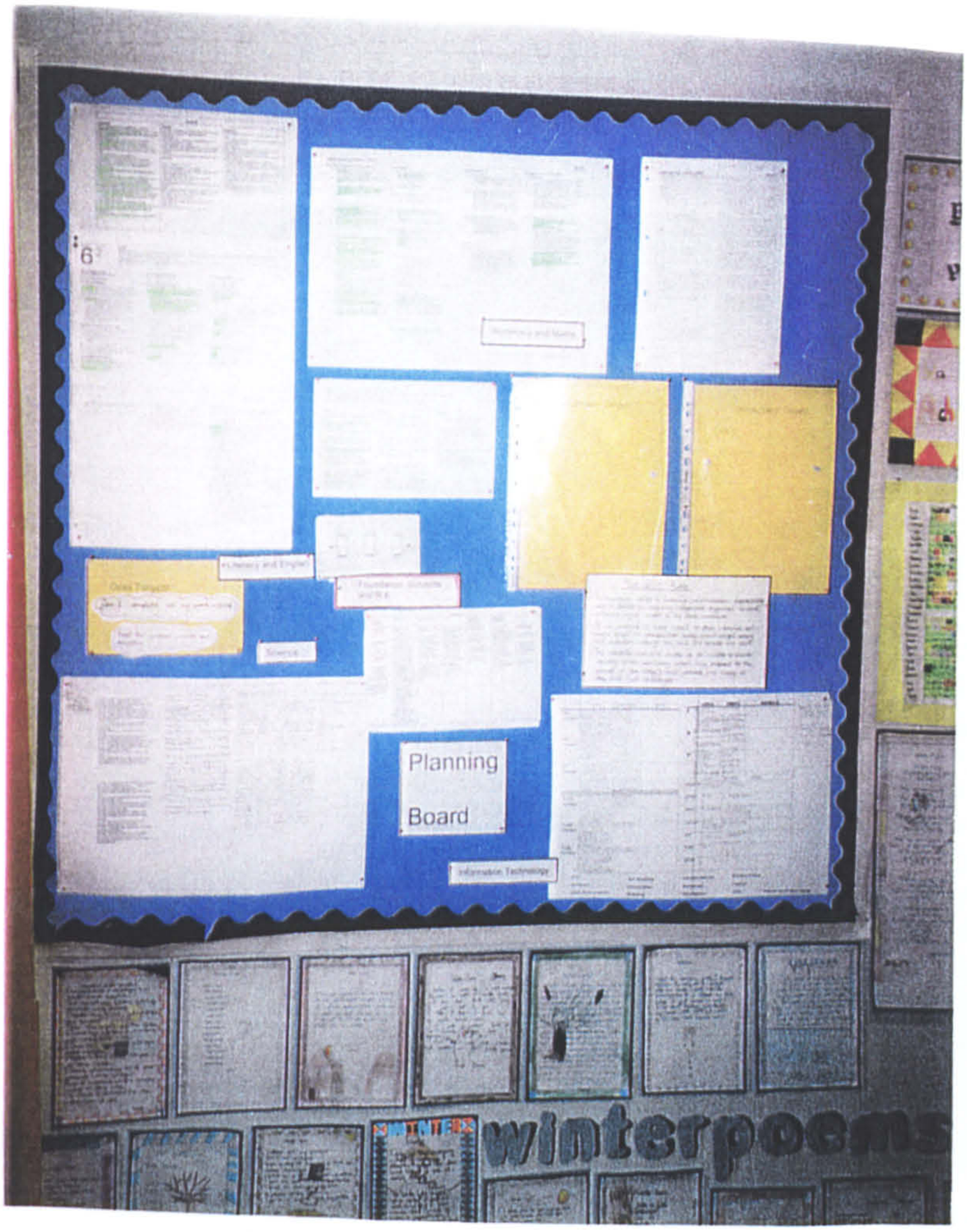
N.B. This plan is not to scale but aims to give a general impression of the organisation, equipment and space within the classroom.

Sarah's classroom was a single-storey, modern square room accessed through a door which led onto a school corridor. On the opposite wall was another door which gave immediate access to the playground and playing field beyond. This wall was also lined with windows which let in the light and gave a good view over the school campus to the houses beyond. The walls of the room were covered with well-displayed examples of children's work and the tables and chairs on which the children worked were of the normal standard found in English primary schools. Sarah had a desk at the side of the room, piled high with pupils' work waiting to be marked, teaching resources, official curriculum documents, and paperwork to be completed. The pupils sat at tables facing the blackboard, which was at the front on the classroom, for literacy and numeracy sessions. However, Sarah allowed them to cluster around groups of tables for more investigative or creative sessions. The pupils were allowed to move around freely when looking for reference books or going to their trays for workbooks or pencils, though movement and noise level were kept to a minimum. Sarah constantly moved around the children as they worked, helping where necessary and reminding them of appropriate behaviour. A notice board at the front of the class had list of pupil attainment and their personal targets for improvement. Close to Sarah's desk was a connecting door to the parallel Year 6 class. Sarah and her colleague next door worked closely together on planning the children's work, especially with regard to literacy and numeracy. They also shared teaching resources which enabled them to cut down on some of the necessary photocopying of worksheets. Though there had been no selection by achievement between the two Year 6 classes, Sarah did group the pupils according to attainment levels. This helped with the differentiation of work and enabled her to work with small groups as appropriate. When Sarah had some additional help in the class this could also be directed to particular pupil needs.

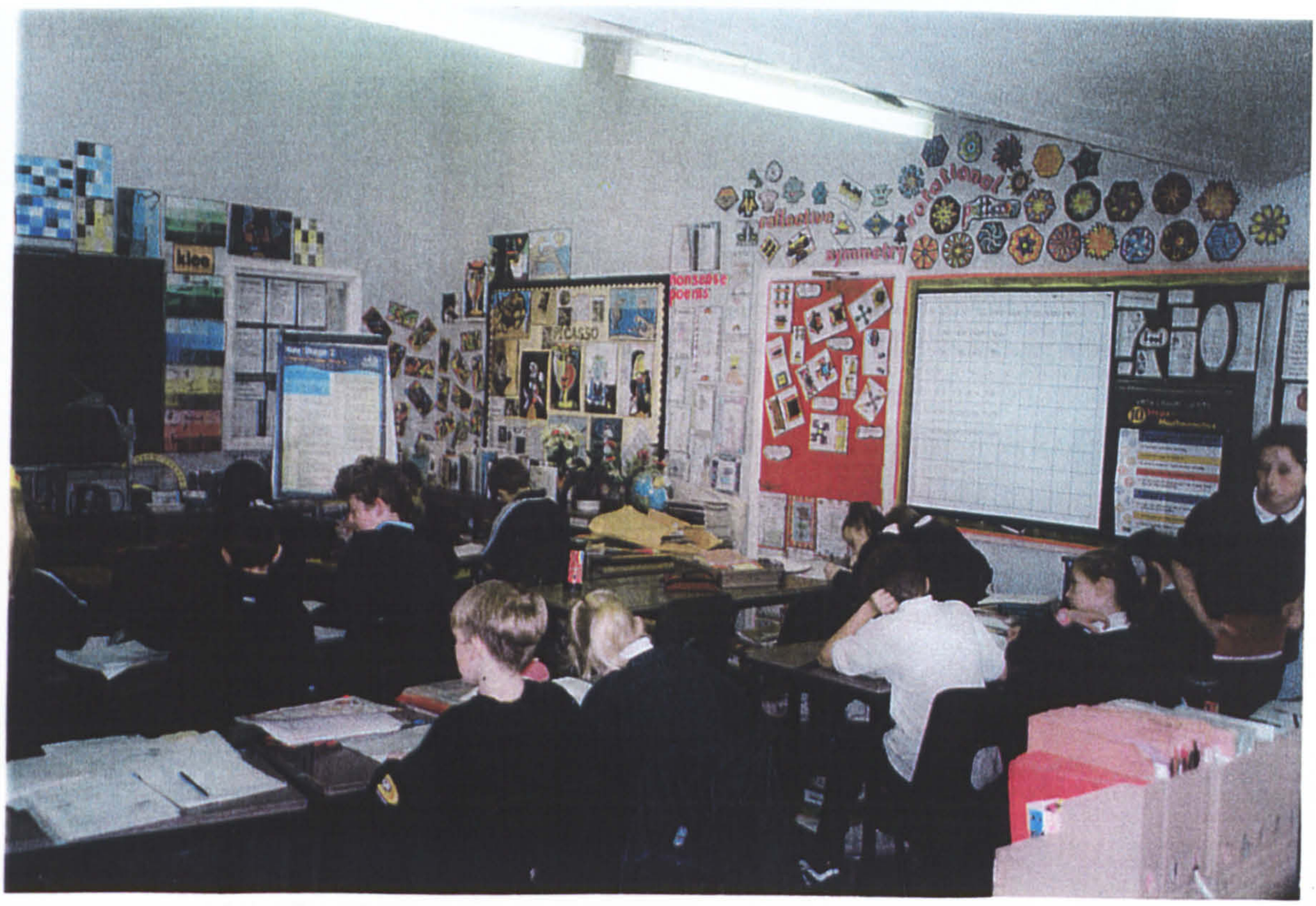
(a) The Layout and Organization of Sarah's Classroom

(b) The blackboard, overhead projector, flip chart and displays of pupils' work

(c) Sarah's desk showing resources, curriculum files, pupil records and paperwork



(d) The class Planning Board showing details of pupils' achievements and future targets



(d) Pupils working more formally in rows facing the front

(f) Pupils working less formally in groups with Sarah moving around giving advice

MARGARET MAY PRIMARY SCHOOL
Weekly Timetable Spring 2000

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.55am	Boardwork Registration	Boardwork Registration	Boardwork Registration	Boardwork Registration	Boardwork Registration *Assessment Day*
9.10	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy
10.10	Numeracy	Literacy	Numeracy	Numeracy	Numeracy
11.10	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
11.25	Science revision	Science revision	Science revision	Science revision	Science/ Service Practice
12.30	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
1.30	registration	registration	registration	registration	registration
1.35	Science [write up notes]/ICT	Science [write up notes]	Craft/D & T	Games [Outdoor]	PE [hall]
2.45	Whole school service	Class service	Class service	Class service	Whole school service
3.15pm	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*	*Dismissal*

[*D&T = design and technology, PE = physical education, ICT= information and communications technology, Service = assembly and prayers*]

Each morning started with the administrative task of taking the attendance and dinner money registers. Work for the children to get on with individually as this was taking place was put up on the blackboard. The children knew the system and came into the classroom quietly, got their work from their trays and began to complete the tasks set for them. Each morning was taken up with the statutory 'literacy' and 'numeracy' hours. These lessons followed a centrally prescribed pattern and were planed jointly by Sarah and her Year 6 colleague [*see* **(b)** and **(c)**]. However, they found the guidelines too restricting and, with the agreement of their head teacher, they had begun to relax their teaching so that the strict rubric was only adhered to on five days out of ten. During the other five lessons they considered that they were able to engage with a more relaxed and creative English curriculum.

There was a twenty minute mid-morning break when pupils went out to play and the teachers not on duty went to the staff room for tea and coffee. During my week of work-shadowing, Sarah was preparing the children for SAT testing and so the science lessons after the morning break were used for revision purposes. It was necessary for them to be reminded of all that they had covered on the science national curriculum over the previous three years. During the lunch break the children either ate their sandwiches in their classroom or went to the school hall to have a cooked lunch. The teachers went to the staff room to have their sandwiches. After lunch the teachers were required to call an attendance register again. These statistics were submitted to the DfEE. While this was happening children begun to get their books ready for the afternoon session. Lessons in the afternoon were less formal and there was more group and collaborative work. At 2.45 pm, the pupils put their work away and lined up at the classroom door ready to be led across to the school hall. Here the head teacher presided over either a whole school assembly [on Mondays and Fridays] or various class assemblies which brought the children together in song and prayer. The children were expected to contribute to the content and organization of these assemblies. When they were finished, the children went back to their classrooms to tied up and put their chairs on the tables to enable the floor to be swept. They were then collected by their parents, several of whom took the opportunity to have a word with Sarah.

(a) Sarah's weekly class timetable for Spring 2000

(b) Sarah's weekly joint planning for the Literacy Hour

Week No	Class: Year Groups. Term Week Beginning. Teacher		Guided Group tasks (reading & writing)	Guided Group tasks (reading & writing)	Learning Intentions Can I:- Extract information from text • understand used past & present tense. • can I word web words.	Plenary
	Whole class shared reading and writing	Whole class phonics, spelling, vocabulary & grammar				
Mon	Capturing Animals (OHP)	Questions from text.	Word Webs — 3 Groups.		Core / Support } list words word webs then. Extension word web & collection of words linked to senses.	
Tues	Pied Piper Text.	Questions Extracting information from text.	Writing Activity		Core / Support / Extension } Short Poem - substitute rats for cats, bats, mats hats ??	
Wed	The Pied Piper Comprehension Recount	Ex A — Comprehension Activity	Group Exercises Word + Sentence Based.		Core A, B + C Support A + B Extension A B C + D	
Thur	Wind in the Willows. p20 letts + Chart	Oral Comprehension - extracting from text.	Past / Present tense • Present into Past - Story		Core / Support } Sentence work Sentence work } p21 letts + eggs. Extension Word Work extension	
Fri	Can I write 2 paragraphs 1) in present tense about Mayelton 2) introduction to a story.					

	Mental/Oral		Main activity					Plenary
	Objectives	Activity	Key vocabulary	Objectives	Support	Core	Extension	Resources	Key points a homework
Mon	Use & understand vocab of problems involving numbers in context		Cuboid, cube, height, width, breadth, length, surface area, 3 dimensional, cubic, numbers	To find volumes by counting leading to understanding & using the formula	Board revision 2D & 3D shapes. Mod 7 Bk 1 pg 34-36	Steps 4-6	pg 56-57	Mod 7 Book 1 Step 4-6	
Tues			↓	V = l x b x h ↓	Steps 4-6 56-57	Steps 5(.)	pg 68-70 pg 71	Steps 4-6 5(.)	
Wed			Positive, negative integers, zero, number line,	Understand negative numbers in context. Add & subtract	Negative Numbers Board work - revision - look at temperature scale Flipchart questions	Mod 7(2) pg 11-17		Mod 7(2) Pg 11-17	
Thurs			temperature	using integers.	Mod 7(2 pg 11-17	Mod 5(.) 16 - 18	Heinemann pg 57-58	Mod 5(.) 16-18 Heinemann Textbook	
Fri	Assessment	Volume -	brainstorm key chart						

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF SARAH

8.00 Sarah is in her classroom preparing it for the week. A church group uses the school on Sundays and the blackboard has been wiped and some furniture needs to be rearranged. When complete, Sarah puts out work on the children's tables.

8.35.1 Sarah goes to a side office to photocopy worksheets that she will be using with her class – but it is not working properly so this job will need to be done later in the day. She goes to the staff room to talk briefly with colleagues before the school day starts.

8.55 Sarah is back in her room as the children arrive. They come into the class having left their coats in the cloakroom outside. Some carry pens and pencils but their work is waiting for them on their desks. The children get on quietly with their work as Sarah talks to one of the mothers who has come into the classroom. Sarah draws attention to what she has written on the blackboard which tells the children what work they must get on with.

9.00 The mother leaves the classroom and Sarah sits at her desk and quietly 'sshs' the children as they settle down to their work – '*Well done, you've got on with work quickly*'. There is very little noise as the last few children arrive in the class quietly and get on with their work. Sarah has to talk quietly to one boy who is fidgeting.

9.01 Sarah begins to call the register and the children answer, '*Yes, Mrs Coles*'. Some children move around the classroom quietly as they get books and resources from trays around the room.

9.02 Sarah calls the dinner register. One boy has come without his book and he borrows from a neighbour after first checking with his teacher.

9.03 Sarah asks one of the boys in the class to take the completed registers to the school office.

9.04 Sarah asks for completed homework and reminds them that their projects need to be handed in by the end of the month. She won't make a list of missing homework until tomorrow – '*As soon as you have finished your writing you can pass it to the end of the row*'.

9.05 Sarah collects in their handwriting books and gives the children two minutes to finish their maths while she looks at their handwriting – '*Don't forget to use a ruler, please*'.

9.10 Sarah moves to help one child who is having difficulties and then returns to her desk to carry on marking their handwriting – '*Right, how are we doing, has anyone finished? Gillian, right good. I'll give everyone else one more minute. Much better John, have you got a new pen? That's much better keep it up*'.

9.11 A girl comes up to Sarah to ask a question and leaves once she has the answer. '*How many more people have got to give me handwriting?*'

9.14 Sarah calls for attention and tells the class that their handwriting is improving and that the daily practice is really beginning to pay off – '*Well done*'.

9.15 The class moves on to a Q & A session on prime numbers. Sarah reminds them that they must use the grid to find the answers and not go back to their previous work, which is cheating. Sarah works with the whole class and chooses children to call out the prime numbers they have found. All the pupils seem engaged – '*Hand up all those who correctly got down all the prime numbers between 1 and 20.*' Some children hadn't finished and so they are told that they will need to finish it later today but Sarah is not going to count the scores today as they will return to the exercise later in the week – '*Draw a line across, please*'.

9.20 Sarah writes on the blackboard, '*Can I understand simple volume?*' and then begins a whole class session on maths revision. She uses various items in the classroom to demonstrate volume and children come to the blackboard to work on class problems.

9.30 Again with the whole class, Sarah begins to do the first few problems on the blackboard. There is a lot of encouragement and the children are keen to join in. Nearly all have their hands up in answer to questions and Sarah accepts different strategies for finding the answer and encourages the children to find what is best for them.

9.35 Sarah continues with a mental arithmetic problem involving volume and chooses a girl to complete the problem on the blackboard – '*Who got 132? Who didn't put the cube in? There's no catching you out this morning!*'.

9.40 Sarah then tells the different groups, S, C and E, what she wants them to do. Groups C and E are to turn to page 56 and work on their own, she will work with S group. She tells Groups C and E that the first section is very straightforward and that she will give them 15 minutes to complete it. She reminds them to take 3 minutes to read through the pages first.
[*Althought the make up of the class has not been selected on perceived ability, Sarah has grouped the pupils in order to help with differentiated teaching and group work*]

9.45 The majority of children work quietly in their books while Sarah continues to work with the five children in Group S. Occasionally pupils put their hands up but continue with their work when they see that Sarah is busy. One or two children go to the back of the room to sharpen their pencils.

9.46 Sarah finishes with S group and begins to move around the class, helping pupils who are stuck. There are more hands up now and Sarah reminds the class that question 2 is asking them to write down the formula. One girl is finished and Sarah goes to mark her work – '*Right, 3 or 4 minutes left before we go through them together*'. There is little noise or movement in the class and Sarah continues to circulate, sitting by children who need individual help. Her style is very relaxed and jovial.

9.51 Sarah gives Groups C and E two more minutes and then goes through the questions with them. Group S continue to work on their tasks. Sarah is encouraging when the children offer answers. One boy has not got as far with his work as the others and Sarah says that he might have to do more work at play time – '*Ten more minutes to finish, when you have finished pass your exercise books and textbooks to the end of the row and read all the work you have done, please, because there will be a test later in the week*'.

10.02 Sarah moves around the class collecting books, checking on the progress of S Group and helping those who are stuck. She says that she will try to mark their work at lunchtime but is not sure that she will be able to as she has a meeting.

10.07 Sarah asks two children to collect in the remaining books while the children continue revising their maths and science. There is now general movement as the children prepare their desks and get out their English books. The maths textbooks are taken next door to the parallel Year 6 class so that they can work on the same problems.

10.10 Sarah begins the Literacy Hour with the class. She asks them to puts their pens and pencils down and just concentrate on the text. She uses an overhead projector to display some poetry by Ted Hughes. After a short Q & A session, Sarah reads the first paragraph and the children are keen to be chosen to read subsequent passages. The children are asked to respond to the text and they contribute happily, with some amusement. Again, this is a whole-class activity.

10.25 Sarah now begins to relate the poem to the children's own writing, to look more closely at the use of descriptive words and punctuation. She reminds them about the need for drafting before they do their final piece of work. Sarah also reminds them of the importance of planning in the coming English SAT.

10.35 A girl gives out dictionaries and the children chatter as they get ready for the next piece of work. There is a discussion about 'root' words and a reference to the Latin root of some English words. Children begin to find related words and their roots.

10.45 Sarah hands out different photocopied work sheets to the different Groups. Group E will work with her around the blackboard. The other two groups will work individually.

10.50 Group E return to their desks and Group C comes forward to the blackboard. Sarah reads through the tasks with Group C and checks that they understand. They then return to their desks to work individually. Sarah sits at a desk and begins to mark the maths work they completed this morning.

11.0 The pupils continue to work quietly and Sarah moves around the class handing back some marked maths work from the earlier session. She explains to them the corrections that they need to do. One or two children come up to her for some help. A boy leaves the room briefly to go to the toilet.

11.10 Sarah tells the class what they will be doing later in the day – unfinished English work will need to be left until later, but they must do their maths corrections from this morning – '*Right, let's see who's ready.*' The children put away their work and sit with their arms folded. Sarah dismisses them row by row when they are ready.

She is very encouraging about how hard they have worked this morning. The pupils leave to go into the playground to have their morning break.
[*Sarah is on playground duty this morning. She does one break a week for the first half of the term and two duties a week in the second half of the term. She puts on her coat and goes into the playground where she wanders around with another member of staff, ensuring that the children are playing happily and safely. She is brought a cup of coffee by a colleague. At the end of break she rings a bell and the children line up ready to go back to their classes.*]

11.36 Sarah is back in her classroom and the children return from their break. She reminds them of what they did in science last week – 'classifying' and 'life processes' – '*We still need to do 'habitat and environment, that's your heading for now'*. Sarah asks them to put their books away for the moment while she goes through a Q & A session of the habitats of different animals.

11.45 '*Right, let's start our notes.*' Sarah dictates information about habitats and environments to the pupils who make notes in their books – '*Don't write whole sentences, only notes*'. Sarah writes any difficult or new words on the blackboard.

11.50 Sarah asks them to put a side heading, 'Adapting to Habitats'. The class begin to discuss together the otter and then Sarah dictates some more notes. Next they discuss 'surviving in hot environments' and Sarah dictates notes on the cactus family. Finally, they discuss 'surviving in cold environments'. The children work quietly, taking down notes in their books. There is no whispering or chatting and all are concentrating on producing their notes.

12.05 Sarah tells them that the reason they are doing this is that they don't have time to do a full project. They are going to have to go through these notes and see how they apply to other plants and animals. One boy will have to copy the notes from someone else as he has not been able to keep up.

12.15 There is a long discussion on worms and one girl is asked to spend five minutes in the library at lunchtime finding out all she can about worms, so many questions are asked that Sarah asks her to bring the book back to the classroom when she has found it. A boy asks to go to the toilet and, when he says he cannot wait, he is asked to return within 30 seconds. He returns quickly.

12.20 Sarah reminds the class of the need for revision of the science before the SATs in May. One girl asks if they will have a practice – '*Yes, when we have time to photocopy the sheets*'.

12.25 Sarah asks the class to turn to the back of their notebooks to write down the following list of work to finish off: 1. Finish maths and corrections, 2. Finish English, 3. Write up habitat notes, 4. Finish puzzles, 5. Letter to Georgina [*a fellow pupil who is sick*], 6. Independent research. Then the children clear up their books and get ready for lunch.

12.30 Sarah dismisses those children who are going to the hall for hot lunches. The rest of the children remain in their classroom to each their sandwiches. She reminds them that there have been complaints about the mess and asks them to cover the desks with their 'place mats' [*sheets of sugar paper*].

12.35 Sarah goes to the head teacher's room for an SMT meeting. It is a regular meeting which is referred to as a 'date setting and information meeting'. The head teacher goes through the various meeting and events which are scheduled to happen during the week. These include:

- the police coming in to speak with parents about congestion in the cul-de-sac;
- a meeting with parents appealing against non-admission for their child;
- the Chair of governors has called for a meeting to discuss problems with the school budget, related to the proposed increase in teachers' salaries;
- the Home-School Association will be having its Annual General Meeting on Tuesday evening and Sarah is arranging a bouquet for someone who is leaving;
- a parent is coming in to discuss the return of his daughter to the school after an absence with family abroad;
- on Wednesday there will be a student teacher in Sarah's class;

- a planned meeting with a parent and educational psychologist has been cancelled for Wednesday because as there is a dispute between the parent and the LEA;
- Sarah will talk through the proposed SEN policy for the school at a governors' sub-committee meeting
- a visiting head teacher will be visiting the school to look at their assessment package;
- a new parent and child will be visiting the school on Thursday;
- a group of children will be going to a primary school in the neighbouring town to practice their musical instruments for a performance;
- Year 6 will organise the school assembly on Friday;
- the staff meeting will focus on KS1 and Years 3 and 4 'tracking documents' which have been designed to track pupils progress as they move through the classes;
- there is also a discussion concerning supply needs and the booking of cover.

1.05 Sarah returns to the staff room to each her sandwiches and make herself a cup of coffee and complete some marking. She talks briefly with colleagues before the bell goes and it is time for the afternoon session.

1.30 Sarah returns to her classroom where her class are waiting for her. She hands round the marked test sheets and collects in some scores from Friday's assessment which she is missing. One boy comes in late – there has been a problem in the changing rooms at lunchtime and Sarah goes out of the room to sort it out.

1.32.1 Sarah returns and an adult helper arrives to hear readers just outside the classroom. Sarah explains that the children will be able to use the computer to send email messages to their 'net pals'. Some children are concerned that they have not received any messages yet. Sarah tells them not to worry, it will be sorted out. One pupil goes out to use the computer network, the rest of the class are told to get on with the work they were set in the morning. Worksheets and textbooks are collected from the cupboards at the back of the room and the children settle down to their work.

1.40 '*Right, everyone should be settled now – Jane could you open the window, please.*' Sarah sits with one of the children whom she knows is struggling with the volume of work.

1.45 Sarah sits at an empty table and marks some of the English work. Periodically children leave and return to the class having read to the adult helper. The rest of the class work quietly on their own. Sarah calls children to her as she marks their work to go over any problems they may have.

1.50 Sarah asks anyone who has not yet handed in their homework to get it from their bags in the cloakroom – anyone who has forgotten it must hand it in tomorrow. Books and worksheets continue to be returned to the table at the back of the room when complete.

1.55 '*Right, it's five to two and you still have quite a lot to do – John you've got the wanders, you're wasting time and that is really not a good idea.*' Another pupil goes out to send an email. The children work quietly on their independent tasks and move around the room returning books and giving completed work to Sarah for marking.

2.10 '*Right, is there anyone else who needs to get their English to me – as quick as you can please.*' Sarah continues to mark the children's work and speak with them individually about corrections. Pupils move between their independent work, sending emails and going out to read to the adult helper quietly and efficiently. An adult comes into the class to speak with Sarah briefly. Another adult helper comes into the classroom to ask for more children to come out and send their emails. Sarah continues to return marked work to the children and give instructions to children who come to her with queries.

2.35 '*Right, you have 4 or 5 minutes before you need to clear away and then we will have an assembly singing practice. Don't hand work in unless it is finished, clear away and get a reading book out when you are ready.*'

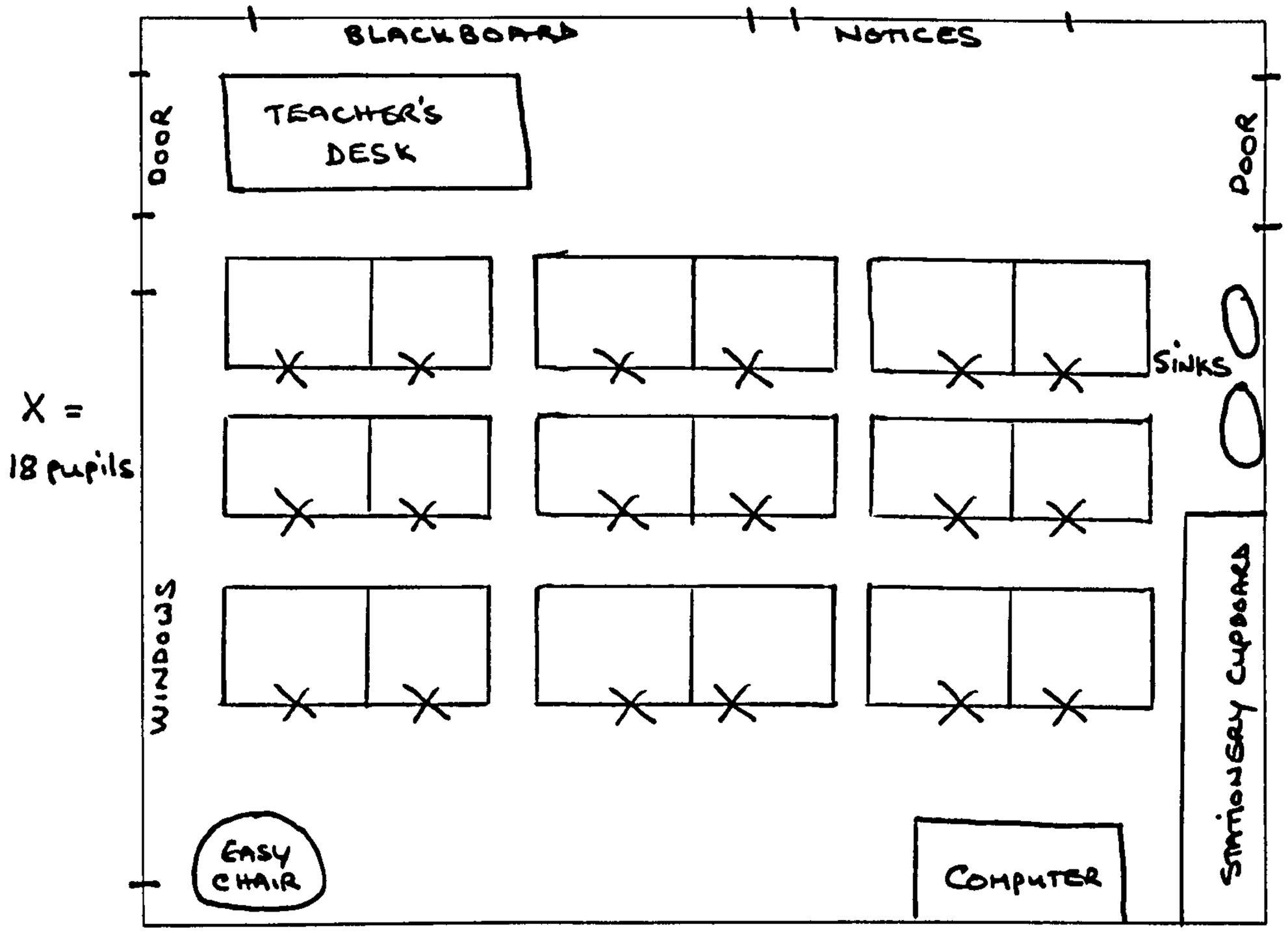
2.40 Sarah cleans the blackboard and the children, having put their books away, return to their tables and sit with folded arms.

2.45 Sarah asks the children to line up by the door so that they can go to the hall to have a singing practice with the rest of the school. Those who have not yet read to the adult helper are asked to stay at the back of the line so that they can go in and out of the hall to read without disturbing the singing.

3.15 The class returns from the hall and they are asked to put their chairs up on their tables and then the class is dismissed. Sarah keeps behind three boys and two girls who were misbehaving during the singing practice to talk to them. A parent comes into the classroom to speak with Sarah.

3.25 Sarah starts an INSET session for KS2 colleagues in the new computer suite. They are working on the 'tracking document' which they hope will help them track the progress of pupils. She helps them load their partially completed documents and fill them in with additional assessment information. The ICT coordinator is working with KS1 colleagues in a separate area. There is some concern about the appropriateness of the document for the proposed purpose. There are some anomalies that will need to be resolved. The session goes on for as long as the teachers can stay – most stay for an hour and a half.

Klasse 3.b : Environmental and Oganizational Aspects



N.B. This plan is not to scale but aims to give a general impression of the organisation, equipment and space within the classroom.

The classroom was light and colourful, though it appeared crowded for the unusually large group of eighteen pupils. There were windows along one side of the room and a door which led directly into the school grounds. The classroom was entered through a door one the other side of the room which led off an interior corridor. The children sat in rows facing the from at individual desks which had adjustable tops and could be inclined to aid writing. The children's chairs were also of a modern design, and adjustable to the individual child's dimensions. They were placed in rows facing the front of the class where there was a large blackboard and various other teaching resources, including a world map which was common to many Danish classrooms and could be unrolled for teaching purposes. There was a table at the front of the class which acted as the teachers' desk. It faced the pupils and was clear of papers. In the corner of the room was a resource cupboard and shelves full of children's files and additional resources. There were also two sinks and paper towels for children to wash their hands. Around the walls of the classroom where some charts, maps and a few examples of children's work. The room had been decorated, to some extent, by the pupils and the teachers. There were curtains at the windows, coloured tissue paper over the strip lights in the ceiling and a large 'Mickey Mouse'cartoon on the back wall. A large wall hanging depicting the countryside hung high in the ceiling and had been a collaborative work done by the class. At the front of the class was a list of class rules and the names of the two pupils who were responsible each week for cleaning the classroom at the end of the day.

(a) Layout and Organization of Klasse 3.b

(b) The pupils working individually in a Danish lesson with the desks facing the front of the class

(c) Some examples of the pupils' art work

(d) Pupils seated individually at their large, modern desks. Both desks and chairs are adjustable.

(e) Class notice board with class rules, timetable and rota for cleaning

Dalskolen Weekly Timetables Spring 2000

Klasse 3.b – Twenty-Two 45-minute Lessons

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.00	Danish	Music	Maths	Art	P.E.
8.45	Danish	Music	Maths	Art	P.E.
9.30	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
9.55	Danish	Science*	Danish	Maths	Danish
10.40	Klassetime	Science*	Danish	History	Danish
11.40	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
12.05	*Finish*	Maths	*Finish*	Religion*	*Finish*
12.50		*Finish*		*Finish*	

* *Lessons taught by another member of the klasse team*

Karen - 21 lessons:10 with *klasse 3.b*

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.00	Danish [3.b]	Music [3.b]		Special Unit	
8.45	Danish [3.b]	Music [3.b]		Special Unit	Special Unit
9.30	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
9.55	Danish [3.b]	Special Unit	Danish [3.b]	English [8.a]	Danish [3.b]
10.40	Klassetime	Special Unit	Danish [3.b]	English [8.a]	Danish [3.b]
11.40	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
12.05-12.50	Special Unit	English [8.a]		Special Unit	Special Unit

Niels - 24 lessons:9 with *klasse 3.b*

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.00	Special Unit	Special Unit	Maths [3.b]	Art [3.b]	P.E. [3.b]
8.45	Special Unit	Special Unit	Maths [3.b]	Art [3.b]	P.E. [3.b]
9.30	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
9.55	Special Unit	Special Unit	Special Unit	Maths [3.b]	Special Unit
10.40	Special Unit	Special Unit	Special Unit	History [3.b]	Special Unit
11.40	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
12.05-12.50	Special Unit	Maths [3.b]	Special Unit	Special Unit	

These timetables demonstrate the way in which the team of teachers covered the curriculum content for *klasse 3.b*. They also show how Karen and Niels divided up the role of *klasselærer*, and carried out their other responsibilities in the Dalskolen's Special Unit and, in the case of Karen, teaching English to a Grade 8 class. The day started at 8.00 am, an hour earlier than was usual in England. No register was taken and, in common with most schools in Denmark, there were no requirements for school assembly. However, because of the relatively small number of pupils and their close on-going relationship with the *klasselærer*, absent pupils were immediately apparent and would be followed up with their parents if the teachers were concerned. After an hour and a half of lessons there was a twenty-five minute break when the children were encouraged to go out into the school grounds and the teachers went to the staff room for a hot drink. As in England, the teachers took it in turns to be on duty at this time. After two more lesson periods the teachers and pupils would break again for lunch. The children brought a packed lunch from home and ate it in their classrooms while the teachers supervised or went to the staff room. On three days a week, *klasse 3.b* would then pack up their things and go home or to the SFO. The children would take it in turns to sweep the classroom before leaving for the day. Karen and Niels did not need to be on the school premises if they were not teaching or attending meetings.

A DAY IN THE LIVES OF KAREN AND NIELS

8.00am The children come into class chattering and the teacher is already waiting for them. They have their coats on and they are carrying their bags – it has been snowing. They chatter happily as they move to their desks. A girl and boy have a brief physical quarrel, which is ignored by the teacher, and then quickly settle down. The children are curious about me and ask me my name and where I am from. They do this in English, without being prompted by the teacher. The teacher cleans the blackboard and a girl gives me a sweet.

8.03 The children still have their coats and bags on and the teacher calls them to order and they take their places ready for their maths lesson. They put their coats and bags on the back of their chairs and get out their maths books.

8.05 After a brief introduction, Niels, the teacher, pulls down a map of Europe [*these are found at the front of most Danish classrooms*] and I show them where Bristol is and explain why I will be sitting at the back of their class room during the week. In English, we talk about the snow that has been falling in Bristol as well as Odense. There is a knock on the door and a boy, who is late, comes in and quietly takes his place in the class. I move to the back of the class and the lesson begins.

8.10 Niels begins to ask the children questions about their maths work – they have their textbooks open on the desks in front of them. They sit quietly and listen. He asks a question and most of the children appear eager to answer – the put up their hands to be chosen. Camilla tries 6 – the answer is incorrect so another child tries. There is laughter. They begin to work through the first through problems with the teacher. They do it as a class exercise and move at a pace which includes everyone in the class. This continues in a good humoured way for ten minutes.

8.20 The children now work on their own at their own pace. There is chatter as they work but the noise level is quite low. The teacher moves around those children who are having difficulties.

8.35 As they finish their work they take their books up to Niels who corrects their work in front of them.

8.42 *'O.K.'* – Niels calls the class to order and begins to work with them as a class again. He goes through the sums they have completed and they mark their own work. Niels illustrates some of the problems they have had on the blackboard to clarify some points. The children put up their hands and Niels chooses some one to answer each time. They all seem keen to contribute. There is some laughter.

8.48 The children turn the pages of their textbooks and begin another exercise. [*Niels explains that they are doing a revision test from a textbook which has been chosen by the teachers in the school. He is not so keen on the book and so supplements it with work of his own. The textbook includes questions at three different levels for those who can move ahead more quickly. The children are not grouped by attainment but sit according to a mixture of where they want to sit and where their teacher puts them with regard to discipline. Niels considers that they have ten years of schooling to learn to work together as they will have to when they go out into the wider community – rich/poor, high/low attainers must learn to work together – a widespread view among those involved in schooling in Denmark.*]

8.50 Niels begins an explanation of the next section of work. The exercise includes a histogram constructed from the leisure activities of a fictitious group of children. The class question its accuracy because it has the most popular activity as gymnastics – they feel that it should be football. Niels goes around the class asking for each child's favourite after school activity. These are listed on the blackboard for that they can begin to make their own histogram based on the activities of the class.

8.54 An adult enters the class and takes a girl out to do some extra work with her. [*Her parents are from Turkey and she has a couple of individual lessons a week with another teacher – sometimes this is work being done by the class, at other times it is extra language work, the class teacher decides. There are two other children , one with Turkish parents and one with Serbian parents – who also have special lessons.*]

9.00am The children now create a histogram in their textbooks based on the activities listed on the blackboard. The teacher first shows them how on a squared blackboard and they then fill in the gaps in their textbooks. There is no movement around the class

and there is also very little chatter as they work. But they give the impression of working together as a group, having created the data in this way.

9.05 Niels pours himself a coffee from a flask that he has brought with him. Then he puts on a pair of new spectacles and the children tease him. He says that his problem is that he is getting old and they laugh.

9.10 The children now move on to the next question which is based on TV and radio programmes. This causes some amusement in the class. A father of one of the class works for a new TV channel which Niels considers is not as good as the old channel. They all laugh.
[*Niels knows the children well as he has been their class teacher since they were 7 years-old.*]

9.15 Niels continues to work through the problems with the class. He now tells them which questions they must do for homework and they move on to a worksheet.
[*When asked, Niels says they there is not that much to do for homework and very often the faster ones complete everything during lesson time and so they do not have anything to do at home.*]

9.20 As the children complete their work they take it up to Niels at his desk for him to mark it. When it is complete they put their work in their files on the book rack at the side of the classroom. There is now more movement around the class. A group of boys chatter together and Niels comes over to them to get them back to work.

9.25 Niels opens a window and asks the girl nearest the door to open it. Some children continue with their worksheets, some begin to chat and play with pencils, etc. Niels moves around the class helping children and checking their work. The girl who left the class now returns from her individual lesson and the teacher asks the children to put their books away.

9.30 The children put on their coats, some go out into the playground, others remain in the class.
[*Niels feels that they should all go out and get some exercise and fresh air but this is what the parents want.*]

9.35 Niels takes his things and goes to the staff room for some coffee. He is now finished teaching for the day. He will go home to do some preparation but will return in the afternoon for a meeting with other teachers. In the staff room, he meets with Karen with whom he shares the role of class teacher. She will now take the class for the rest of the school day.
[*The staff room is light and spacious and tea, coffee and biscuits are ready for the teachers as they come from their classes.*]

10.0 The children return to class and get out their textbooks. Karen dictates a passage for them to copy down. They have prepared the spellings for homework – there are three levels of difficulty and the children know which their words are as the teacher reads out all three alternatives.
[Karen explains that they have just begun to cope with joined up writing and so it takes a little longer at the moment.]

10.10 There is some fidgeting from those children who are quicker at getting the writing done – two girls 'sword fence' with their pencils. A boy taps loudly with his pencil. Another boy plays with his desk.

10.15 A boy who gave trouble yesterday, when they had another teacher in the class team, continues to play with his desk. He is big for his age and the class teachers have had trouble with him and his father before. He drops his pencil and Karen comes to speak with him because he has lost his place. He pulls his adjustable desk up high again and lets it fall back with a bang. A girl leaves her desk to check on another girl's work. Karen tells her to go back to her place.

10.20 Karen finishes dictation and collects in their work books. She then suggests that the children can ask me questions about life and schools in England. They are keen to do so with a mixture of broken English and translation through Karen. They ask me about my age, my family, where I have been in the world and what I know about football.

10.45 The Turkish girl returns from her individual lesson and Karen begins the next piece of work. They are studying the Vikings [800-1050 AD] and the teacher begins to read to the class from a book of Viking stories. The children are now quieter and

listening more intently. She tells them of the exploits of the Vikings in Scotland – the text she is reading from is an heroic poem.
[*There is a strong oral tradition in Denmark, with stories and legends playing an important part in the transmission of culture. This draws on the teachings of Grundtvig who is still very influential in educational thinking.*]

10.55 The story telling and discussion continue and Karen uses pictures from the textbook to explain the details of the story. The text concerns how the Vikings navigated their boats over such long distances.

11.05 The boy that is having trouble concentrating uses his ruler to 'sword fight' with the boy next to him who is from Serbia. Everyone else is listening. Karen talks of the weapons which the Vikings used and of 'Danegold'. A girl plays with a sheet of stickers and another girl gets up and quietly puts some rubbish in the bin. The boy at the back of the class now scratches his ruler across the desk – Karen continues without comment. Karen takes the trouble to explain in more detail about the Vikings to the girl with Turkish parents. The next picture in the book shows someone taking a bath in a wooden tub and the class giggle.

10.10 The children take out their work books and Karen writes the alphabet on the blackboard in Viking runes. She closes the curtains to stop the sunlight shining on the blackboard so that the children can see more easily.

10.15 The children work in their books, copying the characters on the blackboard, and Karen moves around the classroom helping individuals. The class is quiet with everyone working in their places. As they finish their task there is some chatter as they move around the class taking their work to show Karen. There is an intercom at the front of the class and an adult voice talks to Karen, she replies.

11.25 Karen tells the children to close their books and put them away. They go out of the class to get their sandwiches and milk which they bring back to their places to eat. Karen stays with them while they do this. The atmosphere is relaxed and the children chatter good-naturedly.

11.30 When they have finished they put their chairs up on their desks, put on their coats and go off to the SFO until they are collected between 3-4 pm by their parents. The two children whose turn it is to look after the classroom sweep the floor and take back the empty bottles in the milk crate.
[*Karen goes to the staff room to lunch with a group of other teachers. There are six or seven of them and each one takes it in turns, once a week, to bring in the food for the group. They sit together in the airy staff room around one of the dining tables and chat together about their work and families, etc.*]

12.00 Karen goes to the Unit for children with special educational needs where she and Niels have joint responsibility for a class of seven children of various ages with various physical and psychological needs.

12.05 There are only 4 children in the class today because three have gone to have various additional physiotherapies. Before lessons can begin there has been a fight during recess between a boy in this class and a boy in another class in the Unit. The boy from the other class comes to sort out the problem with the help of the teacher. It concludes with the boys shaking hands and going back to their school work

12.10 The group sits informally in a horseshoe shape and they talk and laugh with Karen. They all begin to continue with work which they have already started and Karen moves around them chatting with them and helping them with their work.

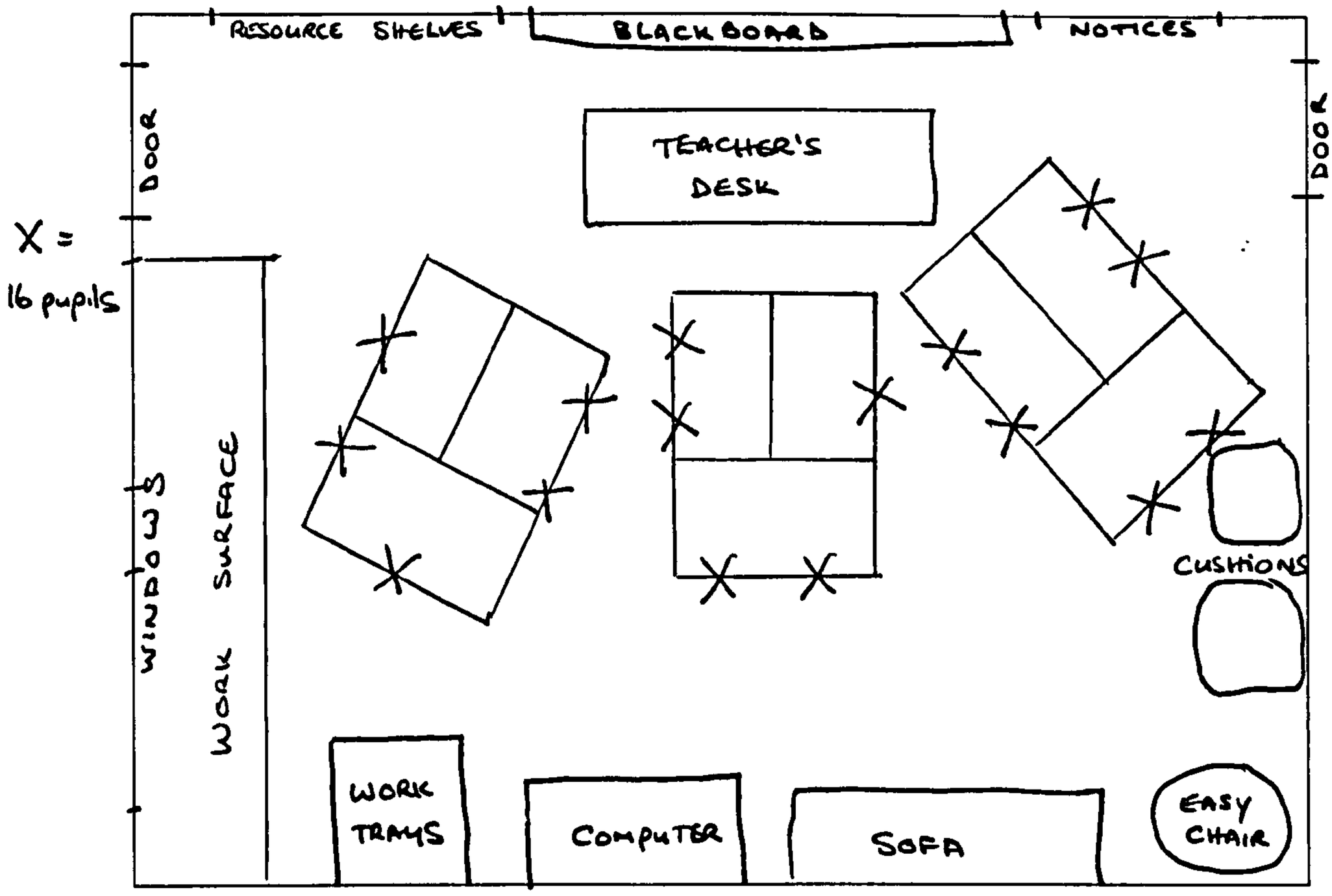
12.45 The children put away their work and put on their coats to go home.
[*The children who come from outside the local area cannot go to the SFO but go by bus back to their homes.*]

SPRING SEMESTER PLAN FOR *KLASSE 3.b*

Uge [week]	Dansk [Danish]	KLT [class hour]	Musik [music]	Mathematik [mathematics]	Historie [history]	Billedkunst [art]	Idræt [P.E.]	Natur/ Teknik [nature/technology]	Kristendoms /Kundskab [R.E.]
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Reading Course	Library Cakes & Cosiness Pupil involvement with planning	Hans Christian Andersen musical	Course 3 Addition Multiplication	End of the World How will we use the animals	Architecture Clay Collage	Winter Sports Strength training	Pollution/ Re-cycling	Prophets
8				**Vinterferie**	[Winter Break]				
9 10	Writing project: the sky			Topic: consumption/ pollution	Castle defences	Theatre Stage design	Ball games	I.T.	I.T.
11				**Temauge**	[Topic Week]				
12 13 14 15	Performance: Viking island Cross-subject theme		Performance bands	Course 4	Viking project	Viking project	Hockey Circus performers	Agriculture/ Farming	Nordic Myths
16				**Påskeferie**	[Easter Break]				
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	Data Water animals Cross-subject Theme Final feast		Spring Songs instruments	Topic: sports and leisure time Course 5	Conduct of war We are all going to die	Painting Drawing sketching	Running/ Rollerskating Running/ Jumping Throwing/ catching	Water and Life	To lie To envy

Cross subject topics: environment, Vikings, water animals

Birgith's Classroom: Environmental and Oganizational Aspects



N.B. This plan is not to scale but aims to give a general impression of the organisation, equipment and space within the classroom.

The classroom was light and airy with a very high ceiling on one side of the room which slopped down towards the opposite wall which was lined with windows onto the schools grounds. Under the windows were cupboards containing resources, the tops of which were used as a display area for the pupil's artwork. The class had two doors, one of which led directly into the school grounds and another which led into a large, well-equipped common room area used by pupils at break times. At the back of the room was a comfortable chair, large soft floor cushions and a large foam-filled sofa which could be pulled out to provided more relaxed seating. On one side of the room was a sink and a notice board which contained timetable information, a photograph of the class with Birgith and the rules of the class. At the front of the room was a large blackboard, a world map which could be pulled down for teaching purposes and a brush and pan which was used by the class monitors to clean the class at the end of the school day.

The classroom layout was not typical as, in most Danish classrooms, the tables would have been arranged either in rows facing the blackboard or in a large horseshoe shape. Birgith had been influenced by her time teaching in the United States of America and had chosen this arrangement to encourage the children to work together in groups. However, unlike classrooms in England, a combination of the small number of children and the large floor area in the classroom ensured that all pupils were able to see the blackboard without having to turn around. This was important as much of the teaching observed was whole-class orientated and teacher led from her desk at the front of the class. The children worked in three groups of five or six pupils around a cluster of tables. They had chosen where they wanted to sit in the classroom, although Birgith had found it necessary to move pupils sometimes, when their behaviour was giving concern. The tables and chairs were larger than those commonly found in English primary schools and of a more modern design. Each chair also had a foam cushion on it.

(a)Layout and Organization of Klasse 3.a

(b) Birgith's desk at the front of the classroom

(c) The comfortable chair and foam sofa which the children can use when appropriate

(d) Pupils seated in groups around tables with displays of their work on the walls

(e) A more usual class layout in Danish folkeskoler

(f) Klasse 3A having a music lesson in the Music Room

(g) Klasse 3A having an art lesson in the Art Room

(h) Klasse 3A having a library session in the School Library

(i) The communal indoor games area outside the Grade 3 classrooms

Vestskolen Weekly Timetables Spring 2000

Klasse 3.a – Twenty-two 45-minute lessons

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.00	*Arrival*	*Arrival*	*Arrival*	*Arrival*	*Arrival*
8.05	P.E.	Science*	Math*	Library	Maths*
8.55	P.E.	Science*	Danish	Danish	Danish
9.45	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
10.15	Maths*	Art*	Music	Danish	Religion*
11.00	Danish	Art*	Music	Maths*	Danish
11.45	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
12.00-12.45			History		Danish

* *Lessons taught by other teachers in the class team*

Birgith – 21 lessons: 13 with *klasse 3.a*

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8.00	*Arrival*	*Arrival*	*Arrival*	*Arrival*	*Arrival*
8.05	P.E. [3.a]		Math [3.b]	Library [3.a]	Maths [3.b]
8.55	P.E. [3.a]		Danish [3.a]	Danish [3.a]	Danish [3.a]
9.45	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*	*Break*
10.15	Maths [3.b]		Music [3.a]	Danish [3.a]	History [6.a]
11.00	Danish [3.a]	English [6.a]	Music [3.a]	Maths [3.b]	Danish [3.a]
11.45	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*	*Lunch*
12.00		Science [6.a]	History [3.a]		Danish [3.a]
12.45- 1.30		Science [6.a]			

The first of these timetables demonstrates the way in which the team of teachers responsible for *klasse 3.a* covered the curriculum for them. The second timetable shows the periods during which Birgith taught *klasse 3.a,* as well as the lessons for which she was responsible with other groups of pupils. The pupils began to arrive at school at about 7.45 am and Birgith took it in turns with her colleagues to be on duty from 7.55 am to ensure that they tided their common room area between the classrooms [*see* Appendix XXIII(i)] before starting work at 8.00 am. As with Karen and Niels, Birgith did not call a register and there was no requirement for whole-school assembly. Both pupils and teachers had a thirty minute break at 9.45 am and the teachers took it in turns to be on duty while the others went to the staff room for tea and coffee. The pupils either went out of the school building or played in the common room area between the classrooms. After two more lesson periods the children stopped for lunch which they brought with them from home and ate in their classroom. As with *klasse 3.b,* on three days a week they would then clean their classroom and either go home or to the adjoining SFO until their parents collected them later in the day.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF BIRGITH

8.00am Birgith arrives at the school and goes directly to the staff cloakroom to hang up her coat and get some things from her locker. She chats briefly with other teachers arriving for the day.

8.05 Birgith goes to the common area[1] outside the three Grade 3 and three Grade 2 classrooms. It is her turn to be on duty as the children arrive for school. The children can arrive anytime after 7.30am but there is only a teacher on duty from 8.05, until lessons start at 8.15. Birgith chats with the children as they arrive and hang up their coats.

8.15 A soft musical chime sounds which lets everyone know that it is time for class. The children put away the equipment they have been playing with and move into their classrooms.

8.16 Birgith talks briefly to a student teacher who is spending six months at the school.

[At this stage the student is expected to observe the class but not contribute to the teaching. She observes Danish lessons with Birgith and maths lessons with another Grade 3 class. The student is attending the only Teacher Education College in Denmark which prepares teachers for the frieskole or private system.

8.18 The children find their tables and two boys lie on the cushions at the back of the room reading books. Birgith writes on the blackboard the activities that they will be engaged in today:

- library and email [*biblio og email*]
- dictation [*ove diktat*]
- free reading [*frilaesning*]
- discussion about homework [*lekte*] – they had to read a Danish story and will discuss it later in class
- creative writing [*lynskrivning*] – 10 minutes only
- book reviews [*bogarmeldelse*]
- book for sick class mate [*billedbog*]

8.20 The class leaves to go to the school library. The children make their own way there as Birgith talks to me about their work which is displayed in one of the corridors. When we arrive, Birgith talks briefly to the children and then they are free to choose a new reading book or do some personal research if they need to. They move quietly around the library and Birgith helps those who have questions.

8.40 Birgith and I go to the far end where there is a suite of computers. We try to send an email to their matched school in England with the help of some of the children but find that the computer is not linked to the internet. We will try again later with the computer in the teachers' room. As well as the teacher there are two librarians on hand to help the children, and the student teacher.

8.50 There is a relaxed atmosphere in the library as the children move around the bookshelves. Birgith is available when they have queries. They sit quietly and read or chat with each other about what they are reading. The computers are also available for them to use.

8.55 Birgith tells the children that they must begin to make their way back to their classroom for their next lesson – Danish. The children finish what they are

---

[1] *This common area is available for the children to use before school and at break times. At one end is an area for hanging coats, at the other is a table tennis table, comfortable chairs and a cupboard full of activities and board games. The children are responsible for keeping the area tidy and putting away equipment when they have finished with it. Its purpose is to allow the children to socialise across the year group and to learn to work and play together [see Appendix].*

doing and begin to walk back to their class in twos and threes. Birgith and I join them.

9.00 Once back in the classroom Birgith begins to discuss with the class a passage from their Danish textbooks which they read for homework. It is a teacher directed Question & Answer session. All the children appear to be fully engaged in the activity. There is no chatting in the class and they all appear happy to contribute by putting their hands up.

9.20 This session continues for approximately twenty minutes, by which time all the children have made some contribution to the session. Birgith sets them some more reading to do before the next Danish lesson on Friday and then tells them that it is Book Review time.

9.25 The pupils all move to the back of the classroom where there are floor cushions, a fold-out sofa and an easy chair. The children scatter themselves around the floor and those that have just finished reading a book come forward in turns to sit in the easy chair and tell the others what they have been reading. They discuss the plot, as well as the good points and the bad points and give the other pupils some indication of whether or not they might like to read it. This is all done in a very relaxed and non-threatening atmosphere. All the children seem happy to join in and Birgith sits at the back and says very little.

9.45 The musical chimes sound again to let the children know that it is time for their morning break. One boy starts to move but he is told by Birgith to remain seated until Jasper has finished giving his book review. When Jasper finishes the children start to move away. Some leave by one door of the classroom which leads outside to a play area. Some leave by the opposite door which leads into the common activity area between the classrooms. Other children get food and drink from their bags and chat quietly in the classroom.

9.46 Birgith waits until another member of staff arrives to carry out 'break duty' and then returns to the teachers' room for coffee and cake. The atmosphere is very relaxed. There are flasks of tea and coffee, and cakes and biscuits on each table. The teachers all begin to arrive and chat with each other as they gather around the tables. I am introduced to many who are interested to know how my week is going.

9.55 Birgith and I use the computer in the corner of the room to send an email to the matched case study school in England. It is hoped that the children at Margaret May Primary School will be able to communicate with their counterparts in Vestskolen in order to understand a little about each others way of life and school experience. A similar arrangement is being set up with Mason Road Primary School and Danskolen.

10.15 Back in class the children continue with their oral book reviews. A girl goes to the teacher's desk to retrieve a book which she has just finished. She holds it up to show the class and tells them that she enjoyed it very much. It was a mystery book and she thought that all the children would enjoy reading it.

10.25 The book reviews continue. There is no sense of urgency and no one is hurried. The children appear to be able to take as long as they require to deliver their review and many of the children listening ask the reviewer questions. All the children continue to take part, there is very little restlessness and Birgith corrects them if they talk when someone else is talking.

10.35 When the last review is finished, Birgith asks the children to return to their desks so that they can continue with some creative writing. There is very little fuss as the children return to their tables and get out their writing books. Birgith gives them an opening sentence with which to start a story and leaves them for ten minutes to develop it:

'It is Friday night and my parents are going out and I have a friend to stay over night. We are alone with my dog when something happens... ... .'

10.40 Birgith says that they really enjoy doing this timed writing activity. Normally when the ten minutes is up they take it in turns to read their stories to each other. However, today there isn't time so they will put them in their trays and read them out tomorrow. They don't need to worry about spelling or grammar, Birgith just wants them to enjoy the activity of writing whatever comes into their heads.

10.45 The class is completely quite as they carry out this activity. There is no movement around the classroom and no whispering. All the children have their heads down and are writing in their books. [*The student teacher sits in the easy chair and makes notes about what is going on.*]

10.52 All the children are still busily writing in silence. Birgith tells them that they will have to finish soon because they have another teacher at eleven o'clock who teaches them maths.

10.53 The children begin to finish their work and put their books in their trays.

10.54 One of the children has had a birthday and has brought in marzipan eggs for all the children in the class. Birgith lets her distribute them as she asks her about what she did for her birthday. All the children seem very pleased to receive an egg which they eat.

11.00 The teacher who teaches them maths arrives and Birgith returns to the teachers' room for a free period. She helps herself to a drink and then goes to the room next door where there are work desks and a suite of computers. She plans to do some lesson preparation before teaching maths to a parallel Grade 3 class after lunch. At one o'clock she will run a practice session with the school choir which she runs as an after school activity.